

The Month in Review



FOLLOWING REPEATED statements on closer, area-wide economic integration, a recent Budapest meeting of the Mutual Economic Aid Council discussed the conclusion of long-term trade agreements among the Soviet-bloc countries, as well as the promotion of regional specialization. Although no information was released on the specific accomplishments of the Komecon Conference, an official communique by Radio Budapest, December 12, pointed out that, since "most long-range trade agreements between the participating countries expired this year, the Council debated the questions connected with entering into long-range commercial contracts for the coming period." An "exchange of opinion" also took place on the "departmentalization and coordination of manufacturing certain machines and equipment in order to expand production on the basis of increased application of new techniques, raising of quality and cutting of costs."

New Five Year Plans announced in the various captive countries confirmed the basic lines of the area-wide integration sketched in the Komecon meeting. In Hungary and Czechoslovakia, where economic shortcomings and goals for 1960 were discussed in some detail, it was clear that the "priority" of heavy industrial development was the chief concern. Particular emphasis was placed on the chemical, engineering and machine tool industries and on the liquidation of weaknesses in the raw material base. In both countries it was stressed that improvements and developments in these sectors were partly required to fulfill trade commitments to other countries.

Capital investments are to be increased with the primary aim of modernizing equipment, attaining greater mechanization and promoting advanced technology. Labor productivity is to rise sharply, and it was evident that both countries intend making production more efficient through better use of machinery and manpower in order to compete favorably on the world market. The new plans also called for greater mechanization and further "Socialization" of agriculture.

Although the emphasis was on heavy industry, the 1956 plans in both countries show that the regimes wish to avoid the unbalanced economic development of the Stalinist period. Regime spokesmen specified that agriculture was not to be neglected and that quantity and quality of consumer goods must be improved. The 1956 plans envisaged considerable improvements in machine production and coal and power output, but the plan targets did not envisage unrealistic strides in industrialization.

In Czechoslovakia, projected rates of increase in industrial and agricultural production were on a level with those planned for 1955; in Hungary, there was a considerable increase in the rate of heavy industrial production, a decrease in the rate of light industrial production and a scheduled three percent rise in farm output. In discussing the Hungarian 1956 plan, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Erno Gero said that in subsequent years the planned increases would be greater: "The increase of our national income, as well as industrial and farm production, though considerable in 1956, will be lower than the average rate of increase for the 1956-60 period."

First reports on the Bulgarian 1956 plan show that, though specific sectors of heavy industry are scheduled to rise sharply, the overall planned production increase for the Ministry of Heavy Industry is to be markedly lower than last year—6.7 percent as against 13 percent. Light and food industries are to raise production by 13.8 percent, more than double the 6.3 rise for 1955; the rate of production growth for agriculture (17.8%) is lower than the increase of 1955 over the previous year (21.7%), but scheduled investments are considerably higher.

Efforts to expand foreign trade were intensified at the end of 1955. Czechoslovakia launched a trade drive in Asia and Africa, Poland signed a large trade agreement with Yugoslavia, and the Hungarian press repeatedly emphasized the importance of improving the quality of export items, stating that "an increase of exports is possible only if our products are able to compete."

The USSR recently gave up its shares in two more joint-stock companies. The Soviet-Bulgarian mining company *Gorubso* was liquidated and Bulgaria acquired the Soviet shares in exchange for payments to be made over a period of years. Similarly, *Sovrompetrol*, the Soviet-Romanian oil company, was dissolved, and the terms of the agreement were announced to be "advantageous" to Romania.

The end of the year in Romania was also marked by announcements of reduced terms of military service and a price reduction of 5-25 percent on some consumer items. The latter concession was made shortly before the scheduled opening of the Party Congress and was evidently calculated to win popular good will.

In Bulgaria, 1955 concluded with announcements on increased collectivization for the first time in several years. According to official statistics, 47 new kolkhozes were formed and some 25,000 new farmer households joined the collectivized sector during the year. In Czechoslovakia, the regime continued its anti-kulak campaign, and emphasized the dangers of permitting kulaks to infiltrate new collectives. A campaign was also under way to "persuade" small farmers employed in industry to join kolkhozes and to win over the middle peasant who so far has resisted the regime collectivization propaganda.

In Poland, Party weakness in the rural sector was a major problem, and the regime claimed that large numbers of young people were fleeing from the countryside. A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist youth organization (ZMP) revealed that membership in rural areas was dangerously low, and plans were drafted to improve ZMP work.

There were continued signs of a "thaw" in Poland with statements criticizing the dearth of unbiased news reports on foreign affairs, the lack of objective economic information on Western countries, and even a request for more economic and statistical information on internal conditions. These criticisms were part of a new emphasis on "separate roads to Socialism," and on a proper evaluation of "capitalist economic achievements" and the importance of learning from Western technology. Both of these points had been dealt with in the Polish Communist theoretical journal, *Nowe Drogi*, which had taken its line in turn from a previous article in the Soviet theoretical journal *Kommunist*.

Tourism in the Soviet Bloc

"The urge to travel is spreading around the world like a fever. . . . It is tantamount to a systematic removal of the iron curtain established by the opponents of the Soviet Union. . . . In the last few weeks it has seemed as if all roads lead to Moscow."

East German radio, July 29, 1955

THIS YEAR the forbidden lands behind the Iron Curtain opened for the first time to travellers from the West. Posters and pamphlets proclaiming the beauties of Hungary's Lake Balaton, the comforts of the Czechoslovak spas, the historical sights of Moscow, Bucharest or Sofia, are appearing in Western tourist offices. Special measures taken by the Soviet bloc regimes to attract tourists include offering organized tours at attractive rates, simplifying paper formalities, and expanding hotel and restaurant service in all major cities and resorts. Promotion of national festivals, fairs, and particularly sports events such as the Spartakiada in Prague and the international soccer series in Budapest was slanted this year toward the international tourist trade.

"We Favor Relaxation . . ."

This new encouragement of travel from the free world

is part of the Soviet program for expanding East-West relations—on Communist territory and Communist terms. It is a striking contrast to the Stalinist policy of isolation, whose most telling symbol was the barrier of barbed wire and machine guns interposed after the war between the free and the Soviet-dominated sectors of Europe. The captive nations of Eastern Europe were sealed off behind this fortified line, and travel between the two sectors ceased, except for a trickle of Communist or pro-Communist youth, labor and cultural delegations. Tourism between the Soviet bloc countries themselves was pared down to occasional vacation junkets within the framework of the trade union incentive-and-reward system for shockworkers and other "Socialist heroes." Private travel for business or pleasure was unthinkable; indeed, citizens of Iron Curtain countries did not have freedom of movement even within their own borders, while crossing a border became a crime punishable



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RUMANIA and the Carpathian Mountains

Breathtaking land of rugged mountains and picturesque villages. Five unforgettable days corresponded to the grandeur of the Carpathians (see picture on left) and four days in the capital city of Bucharest. Many optional excursions included in the **ALL-IN COST of £46.** **ONE TRIP ONLY THIS YEAR.** August 13-22.



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BOOK EARLY Bookings for the first Czechoslovak and Bulgarian holidays must be made before JUNE 1st. All other bookings must be made by July 1st, with the exception of the second Czechoslovak holiday which must be completed by July 1st.

Brochure issued by a London travel agency in Spring 1955.

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The contrived physical isolation of the Soviet bloc was a major factor in the growth of the international tension which split the world into increasingly rigid camps. It was the recognition of both internal and international realities that apparently led the Communists to embrace, in the post-Stalinist era, a concept of "peaceful coexistence," including the revival of international travel. *Intourist*, the Soviet Union's State travel bureau, was reactivated last year, and its new importance stressed by the chairman, B. Ankudinov (quoted by Radio Moscow, August 17, 1955): "The reduction of international tension after the Geneva Conference has created favorable conditions for foreign tourism in the Soviet Union. This is one of the forms of expanding cultural and business relations between East and West. *Intourist* is adopting all necessary measures for flawless and complete services for the foreign tourist coming to the Soviet Union."

What does the Soviet bloc stand to gain from foreign tourism? For one thing, the Communist nations appear eager to put on display their material achievements and benign temper, to disprove allegations of oppression and hardship under Communist rule. Westerners who are treated hospitably can be counted on to spread favorable accounts of conditions and attitudes in the Soviet bloc, thus furthering, however unwittingly, the Communist wish for acceptance of the *status quo* in Eastern Europe. But the Communist interest in tourism is probably mainly economic: Western tourists bring in badly needed hard currency, and Western travellers make trade contacts.

It has become apparent that the Communist tourist program has been devised within a framework of set limitations beyond which the regimes are unwilling to go. For one, group travel only is solicited; tourists are not encouraged to come on their own. This restriction is attributed to—but only partly explained by—the present shortage of tourist facilities. Transportation, sightseeing and accommodations are easier to arrange on a group basis—and so are the movements of the tourists. In opening their doors to a number of Western visitors, the regimes run the inevitable risk of revealing some of the discrepancies between official propaganda and the realities of life in the captive nations. This risk is minimized by strict regime control. In general, the regimes can direct tourists to see what they want them to see and bar access to that which they wish to conceal. Border areas, for instances, are closed to tourists, and so are all areas or installations considered—in a very loose manner—to be of "strategic" importance. Further, most tourists are not trained observers and their prime object in visiting these countries is to enjoy themselves. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that foreigners in general see mainly that part of Satellite life open only to the privileged few in these countries: the best hotels, the best travel accommodations, elegant resorts, and a minimum of red tape or direct interference.

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VISAS

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CURRENCY

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INCLUSIVE COST

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DURATION

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TICKETS AND FINAL PARTICULARS

All necessary information, tickets, vouchers, luggage labels, bag tags etc., will be sent to the travellers as early as possible after receipt of the balance of payment.

HOTELS

Unless otherwise booked the accommodation implies sharing a room but never with more than two others. In Paris hotels this also means sharing a bed. Non-luxury hotels on the continent are usually plain, with running water in the rooms but with a limited amount of lounge, bathrooms, etc. Single Rooms are not easily obtainable on the continent and we therefore have to make a supplementary charge for booking single accommodation.

DEPOSIT AND CONTRACT

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SAVINGS SCHEME

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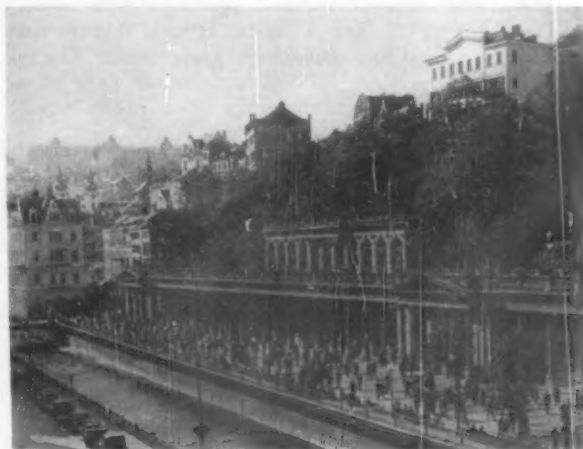
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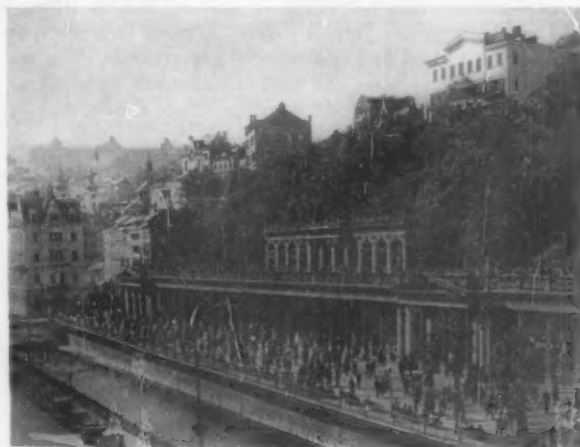
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Karlovy Vary (Karlovy Vary), the famous spa.

Die Neue Tschechoslowakei (Prague), 1951

vided explanations along the lines of: "Comrades, our primary aim is to show foreigners what our working people are capable of and what we can achieve in a short time in our Socialist order. We have many well-wishers abroad who upon returning home will talk about the progress in our country and will evaluate our Socialist hospitality. And our workers whose recreation in these spas will have to be limited? We will move them to even healthier mountain resorts. . . ."

According to refugees, Mariánské Lázně was the only spa which managed to preserve some of its prewar character, and hence was the logical choice for a rapid reconversion to the foreign tourist trade. The old luxury hotels like the Golf, the Crystal Palace and others are still suitable for foreign visitors. *Lidova Demokracie*, March 10, reported that the Mariánské Lázně hotels Praha, Modena, Semtana and Luculus are being restored to the tourist business. A survey of available accommodations in the spas last summer appeared in *Lidova Demokracie*, April 14, 1955:

"Private tourists will be able to visit the spas this year to a greater extent than before, not only for treatment but also for recreation. The 'Turista' national enterprise has at its disposal for the use of these visitors: one hotel at Karlovy Vary, four hotels at Mariánské Lázně and ten hotels at Františkovy Lázně. There are also accommodations at Teplice and Luhačovice. There are plenty of accommodations, particularly at Františkovy Lázně, and in the other spas chiefly at the beginning and at the end of the season. Visitors will receive food vouchers good in any hotel or restaurant, so that they will not be obliged to take all their meals at one place."

A new hotel for foreign visitors opened last summer in Karlovy Vary. Called the Cedok-Bellevue, it has 48 rooms with private baths, balconies and telephones, plus diathermy, mineral baths, etc. According to *Lidova Demokracie*, May 6, representatives of Western travel agencies, among them the Belgian Airlines Sabena and the Austrian Travel Service, had inspected the hotel, and a number of reservations had been made by English, Scandinavian and West German tourists.

The Czechoslovak press is careful to stress that the spas will not be turned into millionaires' playgrounds. The refurbished Karlovy Vary will evidently continue to be accessible to the trade union membership. *Rude Pravo*, August 7, wrote of "the pearl of world spas":

"We found no exotic note in this year's summer season in Karlovy Vary. Karlovy Vary no longer plays host to emperors and maharajas. In the pensions, in the colonnade, at the springs, on the paths, you will meet ordinary people from the Czech provinces and Slovakia but also from the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany and other countries. No, the spas did not close their hotels, their springs and promenades to visitors from abroad . . . but they opened their hotels and pensions, their springs and promenades, primarily to our working people.

"This year, Karlovy Vary will be host to almost 30,000 trade union members [all industrial workers] who are in need of cures. For members of trade unions the entire sojourn, with treatment, is free. Thousands of other guests are coming to Karlovy Vary. During the season 70,000

[were expected]. . . . The city, especially the part near the springs, has a gleaming new appearance. The reconstructed buildings are painted in gay colors, the carefully tended gardens are full of the most varied flowers. The main colonnade, the Colonnade of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship, has been repaired and extended. . . ."

Svobodne Slovo (Prague), March 25, reported that hotel and restaurant employees in Karlovy Vary are studying foreign languages for the benefit of the tourists from abroad. *Lidova Demokracie*, May 5, revealed that the Karlovy Vary Cabaret, renowned before the war, had been reopened in the present National House.

This summer zoning regulations were issued for the protection of the spas. *Lidova Demokracie*, September 2, reported that the new statutes provide for the prohibition or limiting of industrial development in the area. A plan for diverting highway traffic from Karlovy Vary so that "the sections around the springs will be more peaceful and quiet" was outlined in the March 10 issue of the same newspaper.

"Progressive Tours announce—

An Exciting New Addition to our Programme . . ."

The bid for the Western tourist was made in the spring, when advertisements from *Cedok*, the Czechoslovak State travel agency (corresponding to the USSR's *Intourist*), appeared in West Germany and England. In April, Progressive Tours, a London travel agency with Communist contacts, issued a prospectus for two excursions to Czechoslovakia. These were two-week package tours which took place in August and included a stay at Mariánské Lázně and two days in Prague. The price was £46 (\$118) which covered third class return fare, all living expenses, and a sightseeing program arranged by the Czechoslovak trade union holiday organization.

The Spartakiada sports festival, held in Prague in July, was exploited as a tourist attraction. 5000 foreign guests were expected, according to *Svobodne Slovo*, March 5. Westerners who made this trip reported that the procedure for obtaining visas had been considerably simplified. However, visitors are still subject to close police control. Travelers who stayed with friends and relatives in Czechoslovakia learned that their hosts were interviewed by the security police before their arrival. According to government decree No. 335-52 O.G. "all participants in the Spartakiada—contestants, visitors and guests—who will be accommodated in private apartments for seven days or less are obligated to report their arrival by registering in the house book [list of occupants kept in every residence for police records]. In case of a longer stay the tenants of the apartment are obliged to report the visitors to the respective office of the local public security authority."

On September 6, *Lidova Demokracie* reported that a number of Western travel agents had been in Prague to discuss possibilities for tourist travel to Czechoslovakia. Among the agencies which were to submit proposals were the French travel agency France-Tour, the British Transglobe, the American Cosmos, and Egyptian and Israeli agencies.

Travel inside the Soviet bloc area was also extended this year. *Rozhlasove Noviny* (Prague), March 31, 1955,

said that *Cedok* would organize an increasing number of trips to the other "People's Democracies," particularly to Bulgaria, Hungary and East Germany. Said the paper: "Almost four times as many people will spend their vacations in these countries [as did last year]. 1600 of our vacationers will go to Varna and Sofia. Others will spend two weeks at Lake Balaton in Hungary or three weeks at seaside resorts in the East German Republic. *Cedok* offices in Prague and Bratislava will start to accept applications for vacations in people's democratic countries on April 15." *Rude Pravo* wrote on August 26: "Our workers are showing an increased interest in taking their vacations abroad. In the course of this summer four special trains went to Hungary, five to Romania and the German Democratic Republic; ten excursions went to Bulgaria."

Although *Cedok* excursions within the bloc were instituted in 1954, these started out on a very small scale at a very high price. Trade union vacation trips to the other "People's Democracies" have taken place for several years, but were restricted to shockworkers, directors of enterprises and trade union officials. *Lud* (Bratislava), July 7, 1954, said that the participants in the first excursion abroad since the war sponsored by *Cedok* were spending their vacation in Bulgaria and had sent a telegram from Varna "expressing their great satisfaction." Radio Bratislava, October 11, reported that next year *Cedok* will increase the number of tours to foreign countries, particularly to the Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Albania and Yugoslavia.

On September 1, 1955, Radio Prague announced that, as a result of negotiations in Moscow between *Cedok* and *Intourist*, tourist trips from Czechoslovakia to the Soviet Union would be resumed after 17 years. The new program was launched with an 18-day cruise on the Black Sea in September, followed by a series of two-week group excursions to Kiev, Leningrad and Moscow. Excursions to Moscow were arranged for the October Revolution celebration on November 7.

Travel from the other Communist States to Czechoslovakia has not received much press coverage. *Svobodne Slovo*, September 1, reported that "at the present time there are 230 visitors from Hungary in Tatranska Lomnica and Stary Smokovec. On September 8, another 200 tourists from Hungary will come to the Tatra Mountains on a ten-day trip. Rotating in three-week groups, there has been a total of 200 visitors to Tatranska Lomnica from the German Democratic Republic."

The Tatra Mountain resort area is bisected by the Polish-Czechoslovak border. On September 6 an agreement was signed in Prague between the two governments by which Czechoslovak and Polish tourists will be able to go to Tatra resorts on either side of the border with special permits. (*Rude Pravo*, September 7, 1955).

Hungary

"Recently the streets of Budapest have worn a colorful new aspect. The appearance of huge foreign buses bearing signs such as 'Osterreichisches Verkehrs-bureau' or the Czechoslovak sign 'Csad', and others displaying the French, English or Swiss insignia announce that another group of



"The sights of Castle Hill [in Budapest] draw many foreign visitors. Here is a group of Bulgarian tourists at the statue of King Stephen."

Beke es Szabadag (Budapest), October 5, 1955

foreign visitors has arrived. Such groups also appear in other parts of the country, especially on the shores of Lake Balaton: the famous Echo of Tihany often resounds in a foreign tongue."

This comment in the September 1, 1955 issue of *Szabad Nep* (Budapest) expresses the current fervor with which the Hungarian regime is promoting tourism. According to the October 15 issue of the same paper, more than 5000 Western tourists visited Hungary in 1955 through the offices of Austrian, British, Danish, Swedish, Swiss and other travel agencies. In addition there were "thousands from the fraternal nations, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Poland." 1500 foreigners attended the international soccer matches in Budapest, reported Romania's Radio Bucharest, November 11.

Hungary was a popular tourist country before the war, with the result that unlike most of the captive nations it has a number of luxury hotels which can be rehabilitated. According to *Szabad Nep*, September 1, "Our foreign guests are particularly attracted by Lake Balaton. Next year we expect a veritable invasion of Balatonfoldvar and Tihany.

There are only a few *Ibusz* [State travel agency] hotels and it is obvious that the development of the Balaton resorts, particularly Balatonfured, Kenese, Balatonlelle, Keszthely and Heviz, is of paramount importance." *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest) wrote on October 2: "The most immediate task in the interest of expanded tourist trade is the improvement of hotels in rural areas and in the large cities. Hotels now used for other purposes must be returned to their original use."

At present, sports are Hungary's main tourist attraction. Hungarian athletes, trained and supported by the State, are outstanding in many fields and have the status of celebrities in Eastern and Central Europe. The Austrian, Swedish and Italian-Hungarian games held in October and November in Budapest were calculated to attract a large number of visitors from abroad. *Szabad Nep*, September 1, wrote: "With the coming of the fall season, we expect an increase in tourist traffic, with people flocking to Hungary for the sports events. Several thousand people will come from Austria to attend the Austro-Hungarian soccer match and there will be several hundred Swedish and Italian athletes and fans." Two group trips came from Sweden to the Swedish-Hungarian trackmeet starting October 5 and the football match between Sweden and Hungary on November 12. The crowds were so large that the Ministry of Internal Affairs made the unprecedented request that "visitors arriving in Budapest [for the Austro-Hungarian match] find accommodations with friends and relatives if possible." (*Magyar Nemzet*, October 16, 1955.) Hitherto, accommodating foreigners was a sure way for Budapest residents to arouse police suspicion and regime disfavor.

Courting Western Europe

Ibusz, the Hungarian State travel agency, has branches in Vienna, Paris and Munich, which became highly active last year. *Ibusz's* Vienna office offered a large selection of excursions to Hungary, including a weekend trip to Budapest, at very low rates. The weekend excursion cost the equivalent of \$10, a five-day trip to Balaton about \$23.

A French travel agency reported that Hungary was a popular choice of French tourists last summer, that by March 1955 more than 500 Parisians had signed up for *Ibusz* excursions. It is believed that the French were attracted mainly by the low prices (amounting to between 38,000 and 45,000 francs for three weeks.) Most of the trips are to Budapest and Lake Balaton, but several have Szatmar and other industrial showplaces on the itinerary.

Ibusz also arranged with the Swedish travel agency Reso to organize trips to Hungary for individual Swedish tourists as of August 1, at the same time reducing the rates.

Like Czechoslovakia, Hungary has eased visa restrictions and delays. The Hungarian Legation in Paris took pains this summer to assure French travel agencies that visa applications would be treated speedily and favorably. From Vienna it is reported that a number of Hungarians have been granted permission to visit their relatives in Austria, and the *Ibusz* office in Vienna has been obtaining visas within three or four weeks for Austrians wishing to visit relatives in Hungary. Until this year such permits were not

available to Austrian citizens. The Hungarian State railroads are reportedly negotiating with the Austrian railroads to open traffic on some border lines which have been closed since the war. At present there is only the Vienna-Hegyeslomb-Gyor line. Most transportation into Hungary is by *Ibusz* bus; but for the soccer match, Austrian tourists were for the first time permitted to travel in their own cars.

This year, Hungary expects four times as many tourists as in 1955; chiefly from France, Italy, Switzerland, England and the Scandinavian countries (*Nepszava* [Budapest], October 11). Visitors are also expected from "across the ocean, from the United States, Egypt and other countries." *Szabad Nep*, September 1, said that the *Ibusz* Vienna bureau will be enlarged and *Ibusz* will take up connections with travel bureaus in all major European countries, especially Italy.

Hungary is also expanding travel inside the Soviet bloc. *Szabad Nep*, September 1, said that according to estimates for this year Hungary will have three times as many visitors from the "People's Democracies": from Czechoslovakia alone the number will be double last year's. There is also a growing tourist traffic from the Soviet Union, and conducted tours for Yugoslav citizens are being arranged. *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), October 12, reported that conducted tours from Hungary to the Soviet Union were to take place in November. *Ibusz* was to arrange these tours to Kiev, Leningrad and Moscow, and is scheduling Black Sea boat trips for the summer.

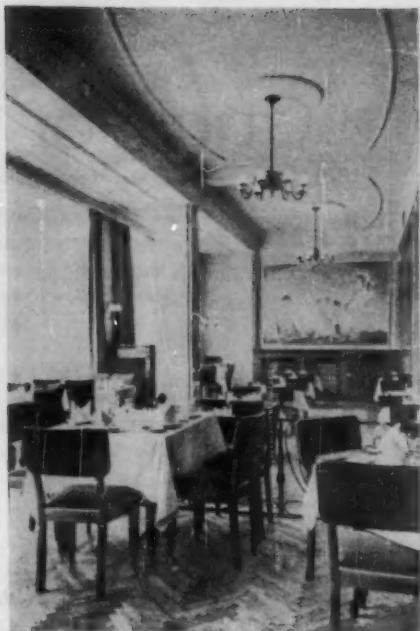
The same article said that simultaneously with the increase of tourism to Hungary there is "a marked increase in the number of Hungarians taking trips abroad." In 1954 there were only three conducted tours abroad; two to Bulgaria, one to Czechoslovakia. Last year there were five to Prague alone, and in addition there were excursions to the Tatra mountains and Marianske Lazne in Czechoslovakia and to Varna (Stalin) in Bulgaria. Approximately 4,500 people participated in these tours.

The first unofficial trip for Hungarians (open to anyone who wanted to go and could pay for it) was to Prague for the October Czechoslovak-Hungarian soccer match.

The Romanian frontier is once more open to private travellers from Hungary, generally Hungarians with relatives in Transylvania. The Romanian consul in Budapest is reportedly delivering a large number of visas every day to Hungarian citizens.

Yugoslavia is the only country outside the Soviet bloc to which Hungarians may now go as ordinary tourists (they may go to Austria chiefly to visit relatives). The September 19, 1955 issue of *Szabad Nep* thus published an article by a Hungarian who had spent his vacation in Yugoslavia. He described his meeting with a group of high school boys in the following words:

"When they heard that I was a Hungarian they surrounded me with great interest. Their faces were full of curiosity and genuine pleasure. It was just after the Yugoslav-Soviet conference in Belgrade. We soon made friends and enjoyed the rest of the trip together. What do they know about Hungary? They have heard that Budapest is a beautiful city and they know about our big lake, the Balaton. And the names of the Hungarian soccer players—they know them all by heart. . . ."



THE "EUROPA" RESTAURANT IN WARSAW IS SET, READY TO RECEIVE GUESTS

WE WELCOME YOU



Photographed by CPA
IN THE WAITING ROOM OF THE "ORBIS"
OFFICE ON CONSTITUTION SQUARE, WARSAW

Poland (Warsaw), No. 4 (8), 1955

Romania

The first postwar tourist trip to Romania from the West was a two-week tour from London which took place in August of last year. The trip was arranged by Progressive Tours, which so far is the only tourist agency in the West to handle any travel to Romania. The tour route was London-Vienna-Bucharest-Sinaia (in the Carpathian Mountains) and return, priced at the sterling equivalent of \$170. The sightseeing itinerary included a visit to Peles Palace, Doftana fortress, Stalintown, an evening at the Opera and seats for the August 23 Liberation Day ceremonies. A note in the travel brochure revealed that "rooms will be shared; single beds, but no single rooms available." There are apparently not facilities for any large numbers of tourists in Romania, although 13,000 people from 48 countries visited the country last summer, according to Radio Bucharest, August 30, 1955.

Plans are under way to develop the tourist industry. *Carpati*, the State travel agency organized last fall, will take charge of the exchange of tourists from all countries and the construction of special hotels at mountain and sea resorts. *Carpati* will establish agencies in the United States, Britain, Germany, Switzerland and possibly France and Italy, said *Agerpress* (Bucharest), September 6, 1955.

Radio Bucharest, September 28, gave an account of the first postwar Romanian tour to Moscow. The cost of the trip, including travel, board and accommodation in first class Moscow hotels was 2600 lei (average monthly salary in Romania is 600-700 lei). Radio Bucharest, October 24,

reported the departure of a group of 38 Romanian tourists for the last of the season's trips to Moscow. The radio said that in one month some 200 Romanian tourists had visited the Soviet Union.

Travel out of Romania has been somewhat facilitated, although there is no official reference to it. A Viennese recently received a letter from a friend in Bucharest which suggested that it might soon be possible for them to visit each other in their respective cities. The Bucharest correspondent commented on the increase of travel between the captive countries and said that some of his friends had gone on visits to Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Poland

Except on the occasion of the Warsaw Youth Festival and the Poznan Trade Fair (the latter reportedly drew some 300 westerners), Poland did not open at all to Western tourists last year. Poland's lag is believed due chiefly to the shortage of hotels: there are apparently now only nine first-class (by international standards) hotels in the entire country, and prices are extremely high. However, *Orbis*, the Polish State travel agency, is planning to expand considerably and to restore resorts such as Zoppot on the Baltic Sea, Zakopane in the Tatra Mountains, and spas in the Beskides and the Carpathians. It has been unofficially reported that the Polish regime will set up a new, official Polish tourist agency in Paris. (French-Polish travel has hitherto been handled by a commercial agency with no political ties. Travel between France and Poland has been



High up in Rila, the Balkan-Tourist Hotel near the famous monastery

Be a Guest of



Balkan-Tourist

Bulgaria Today (Sofia), April 1954

relatively active for many years under the Polish Communist program for emigres in France to spend their vacations in Poland and to send their children to Polish camps.)

Polish tourism within the Soviet bloc started last year. *Glos Pracy* (Warsaw), August 17 and 18, 1955, reported that Polish tourists had visited East Germany and that several Soviet and Czechoslovak groups were touring Poland. *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), September 16, described two Polish tours to the Soviet Union scheduled for September and October.

Polish citizens are not permitted to travel as tourists in the West. However, the regime has reportedly undertaken to grant a few long-standing applications for exit permits. Since this news spread, increasing numbers of people have applied for permission to go abroad, primarily to visit relatives. A letter received in Paris said that 100,000 applications were filed with the passport office in Warsaw between May and August 1955. By comparison, in April there had been fewer than 20,000 cases under consideration, according to the same source.

Bulgaria

Although Bulgaria is geographically out of the mainstream of Western tourism, its Black Sea towns are among the most popular of Balkan resorts. Some 2500 foreigners spent their summer holiday at Bulgarian resorts in 1955, according to Radio Sofia, August 17. Among them, for the first time since the war, were tourists from West Germany, Sweden and France.

Bulgaria's tourism is under the direction of *Balkantourist*, the State travel agency whose work was described for Western readers in *Bulgaria Today* (Sofia), April 15, 1954:

"... *Balkantourist* takes care of the leisure of Bulgaria's visitors and of her working people who want to see their homeland; it is organized on the same lines as *Intourist*, *Orbis*, *Cedok*. To cross the country from end to end, to enjoy the soothing beauty of the landscape while somebody organizes your transportation, your stops, your meals, your pleasures and your cultural activities ... increases a hundredfold the benefit you gain, even in a very short time and at the least expense.

"After a journey of several hours, the traveller finds himself in one of the lovely *Balkantourist* inns, at a mountain resort like Borovets, or the Rila Monastery, a wonderful monument of the Bulgarian Renaissance; in the plain of Kyustendil, so rich in fruits and mineral waters, or at Hissarya, the famous spa with its imposing Roman ruins, so eloquent of its one-time glory. Two hours by plane will carry you to the sandy beaches of the Black Sea, and the town [of Stalin]. Everywhere, the blue signs of *Balkan-tourist* tell the traveller that here he will find rest, comfort and good service. Proofs of this are the written testimonials of our visitors from abroad, whose only complaint is the too abundant food."

In contradiction to this last statement, an article in *Otechestven Front* (Sofia), June 20, 1955, attacked the restaurant shortage and the cheating of tourists in resorts:

"The towns of Burgas, Nesebur, Pomorie, Sozopol and Obzor, famous for their seashore and springs, are visited every year by thousands of vacationists. The restaurants

in these resorts, however, are badly organized. Last year . . . even their number was not sufficient. In Vurshets there is no summer restaurant. . . . At the mountain resort Georgi Dimitrov . . . [there is an unaccountable] delay in opening the restaurant which *Balkantourist* has authorized. Nowhere except in Burgas are there refreshment stands for the tourists' convenience. . . . Last year there were many complaints about the systematic swindling of tourists in the size and price of meals. . . ."

A first-class hotel for foreign tourists is among the new buildings under construction in the city center of Sofia.

The first Bulgarian excursion to the Soviet Union in ten years was announced in *Otechestven Front* (Sofia), September 16, 1955. This was a cruise from September 19-29, with stops at Odessa, Kiustendja, Yalta, Sochi, Sukhumi and Batum. A second cruise following the same route was scheduled for October 1. Radio Sofia, October 22, reported the departure of a new group of Bulgarian tourists on a tour of Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev.

Overall Picture

For the first time since the war, the Soviet bloc nations participated in the annual meeting of the International Travel Organization, which took place in October at Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia. According to accounts in the West German press (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 24, 1955), representatives of the Soviet bloc travel agencies stated that they were hoping for a steadily increasing flow of Western travellers to their countries; all of them stressed however that they would prefer organized group tours to single travellers.

The following details on trips and rates (quoted in approximate dollar value) offered for the coming season were submitted by the Iron Curtain countries: Czechoslovakia: "cure" sojourns in Karlovy Vary, Mariánské Lázně, Františkovy Lázně, at about \$14 a day. Excursions other than spa vacations are under consideration. Hungary: Group trips to Budapest and Balaton at a per diem rate of \$5-\$7. Until now visas for single travellers have been difficult to obtain (presumably they will now be more accessible) and in addition, private travellers had to plan on spending a minimum of \$12 a day for room and board. Bulgaria: Group trips primarily to Varna (Stalin) on the Black Sea. Daily rate about \$7. Twenty new hotels have been put into operation for tourists.

No specific information was submitted by Romania or Poland. (Radio Warsaw announced on November 8, 1955 that the *Orbis* travel agency had joined the International Travel Organization.)

Soviet Union: Single and group trips in several classes to a large variety of places. Single travel first class: single room and bath and meals in luxury hotels, rented car with chauffeur and interpreter—\$30 per day. Single travel second class: room without bath, four meals a day, rented car with chauffeur and interpreter shared with two or three other travellers—about \$21 a day. Group, tours first class: for 15-20 tourists, private rooms in first class hotel, interpreter and bus transportation—\$17 a day per person. Group tours second class: same except rooms are shared with one

or two persons—\$12 a day. Group tours third class: plainer hotels, rooms shared by four to five persons—\$10.

There are no restrictions on currency brought in from the Western countries, since the acquisition of hard currency is one of the goals of Communist tourism. The transfer of frozen funds is one aspect of this general drive to equalize currencies. The prospectus issued by Progressive Tours for trips to Czechoslovakia from England carried a note that ". . . these visits serve not only to give a thrilling holiday to many British people but also to be the means whereby the Czech Whitehaven Pit Disaster Fund can be transferred to this country [England]. This was money collected by Czech miners to aid the dependents of the victims of the disaster at Whitehaven Pit, Cumberland, in 1947, and which because of currency difficulties could not easily be converted into sterling. All that part of the cost of the holiday which would normally go to meet the expenses in Czechoslovakia will be held in this country and transferred to the Whitehaven Fund."

Tourists from the captive countries, however, are severely limited as to the amount of currency they may take into the Soviet Union. Tourists from Czechoslovakia, for instance, were limited to 540 *koruny* (300 rubles: \$75) last summer.

Western travel bureaus are expected to take a share in the travel business being developed by the Soviet bloc. However, their function would be restricted to that of a broker, making the travel arrangements this side of the Iron Curtain for their clients and then turning them over to the relevant Communist State travel agency, probably on a commission basis. This would be necessary because no Western travel organization has any offices beyond the Iron Curtain, let alone a network of agencies able to take care of their clients throughout the trip.

The reaction of travellers from the free world who visited the Iron Curtain countries during the past season was—as the Communist regimes took pains to ensure—a generally favorable one. According to accounts in the Western press, travellers were greatly impressed with the friendliness of the captive people and with their curiosity about the West. Tourists reported enjoying freedom of movement—although many assumed they were under some surveillance—and all



Hungarian-English Soccer Match Hungary (Budapest), June 1954

the comforts they desired—and could pay for. Still, tourists have been able to see behind the facade: many commented on the discrepancy between the luxuries and entertainment they enjoyed and the pervasive drabness of the general life. A number of Austrian sports fans who went to Czechoslovakia last year, for instance, came back with the impression that Prague today is no better off than was Vienna in the rigors of the immediate postwar years.

A Purposeful Program

The Communist tourist campaign gives every indication of being a long-range program, independent of fluctuations on the diplomatic level between East and West. The Communists have made a practical appraisal of the advantages of furthering relations with the West on a commercial and popular level. This is far from being a two-way street: the Soviet bloc is sending visitors to the West, but so far these have been carefully selected political and professional groups. The Communists want to learn from Western technology; beyond that, they are not anxious to expose their subject people to Western influence. It is not likely that there will be any significant tourist traffic to the West from the Communist-dominated countries.

On the other side, it is questionable whether the Soviet bloc countries can develop a genuine tourist appeal for

Letter from a Hungarian resident in Czechoslovakia, mailed October 1955:

"Here conditions of tourism have improved. My friend too was in Budapest from Saturday till Tuesday. They say one and a half million people traveled to the football matches [in Budapest]. From that, one can see how many of us [Hungarians] there are here. You have no idea of conditions there at that time. One could not get nylon stockings, raincoats, handkerchiefs. One man told me that they gave some gypsies six handkerchiefs and they played for them until morning . . . everything was very expensive. It is said that some came home in bedroom slippers because they had sold their shoes at great profit. It seems life there is even more difficult than here. . . ."

Westerners after the initial interest in their accessibility tapers off. For all East-West "contacts" seem doomed to remain artificial and constrained as long as the basic conflict of ideologies persists. The physical barrier is lowered, but the impalpable barriers of principle, practice and purpose remain.

Customs

It was not only Western travellers who used to be greeted with suspicion and hostility at the Satellite borders. A prominent Hungarian Communist poet, Peter Kuczka, described in a letter to *Irodalmi Ujsag* (Budapest), October 23, 1954, how he was received when he re-entered his own country after a trip to "friendly Bulgaria." Customs officers at the airport confiscated the records and art objects which he had received as "gifts from the wonderful Bulgarian people." In addition, charged the angry poet, the officers seized three parcels of art objects which the Bulgarian Institute of Cultural Relations had entrusted to him for an exhibition at the Bulgarian Educational Institute in Budapest. "I am a Hungarian writer and not a smuggler," Koczka protested. "I am a Hungarian citizen, I observe our laws well. . . . As a Hungarian writer and citizen, I protest and call the attention of superior authorities to these excesses."

Transportation in Czechoslovakia

The second of a series of articles on the development and organization of transportation in Eastern Europe.

Inter-War Status

BEFORE IT BECAME a single nation in 1918, Czechoslovakia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Austria controlled the territories of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia; Hungary those of Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia. Transportation in the two portions was developed by the governing Powers more or less independently of each other, so that Czechoslovakia found itself with facilities that were inadequate for its national requirements both economically and strategically. In the western provinces the road and rail routes converged upon Vienna, with a secondary node at Prague, and in the eastern provinces they stemmed out of Budapest. Direct connections between east and west were few. In part this was due to the Carpathian barrier between Moravia and Slovakia which created engineering difficulties, but in greater part it was due to a lack of co-ordination and to unequal economic development. Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia were manufacturing centers that supplied the Austro-Hungarian Empire with metals, machinery, textiles and many products of light industry. Slovakia and Ruthenia, on the other hand, were predominantly rural. The most important task of the new Republic in the field of transport was to integrate the road and rail network and especially to build connecting links between east and west.

Much was done to modernize the roads between 1918 and 1938. Four east-west through roads were planned and

"Friendship Line with Soviet Union in Full Swing"



"Workers of the construction train No. 35 of the Kosice Line . . . are laying tracks."

Svet V Obrazech (Prague), November 12, 1955

most of the program was carried out. A number of bridges were built. Most of the construction was in Slovakia, where transport was less advanced than in the Czech lands. By 1938 the general state of the country's roads, especially in Bohemia, was good enough to win the approval of international touring associations.

The railways were not substantially enlarged during the First Republic, although some lines were double-tracked, connections between east and west were improved, and several new lines were built in Slovakia. The total length of track in 1938 was about 14,000 kilometers, or 9.7 kilometers for each 100 square kilometers of area. About 70 percent of the trackage was in the western provinces of Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia, which had a density of 12 kilometers of track per 100 square kilometers of area. An effort was made to improve the rolling stock, both in quantity and quality; by 1937, according to the *Statistical Digest of the Czechoslovak Republic (Prague)*, 1948, there were 4,091 steam locomotives, 9,847 passenger coaches and 93,027 freight cars. Railroads accounted for most of the country's transport, carrying in 1937 about 71 million tons of freight.

Czechoslovakia's waterways consist primarily of three river systems: the Elbe-Moldau, the upper Oder and the middle Danube. These rivers were internationalized following the First World War and the Czechoslovaks were given representation on the governing committees. The rivers highlight the country's peculiar geography, in that none of them provides a long internal waterway. Czechoslovakia

is part of the Central European watershed. The Elbe, for most of its length a German river, rises in Bohemia near Prague. The Oder, which is mainly Polish and German, begins in Moravia-Silesia. The Slovak rivers Vah, Nitra, Hron, Ipel and Hornad drain southward into the Danube, which borders Slovakia for about 170 kilometers.

The most important river system between the wars was the Elbe-Moldau, which is estimated to have carried between two and three million metric tons in 1936. Traffic on the Moldau was primarily local and supplied Prague with bulk commodities like timber, stone and gravel. On the Elbe there was international traffic going down to the German river ports and to Hamburg. The Danube was of less importance, partly because of navigational difficulties. The Slovak Danube ports in 1937 handled about 1.2 million metric tons of freight, mostly bulk commodities such as timber, grain and petroleum. On the Oder, the limitations of the Czech portion prevented any sizable traffic, though some coal was sent down to the German port of Stettin in exchange for Swedish iron. The Czechs showed considerable interest in the scheme for an Oder-Danube canal which would provide them with a through route connecting the North Sea and the Danube, but this long-discussed project still lies in the future.

During the Second World War, particularly its last part, the eastern territories suffered heavily. The Germans, retreating before the Soviets, destroyed almost every road and railway bridge in Slovakia and southern and eastern Moravia. Transport on the Danube was halted because of mines planted by the Allied air forces. In western Czechoslovakia the most serious destruction was on the Elbe River: port cities such as Ustí had been bombed by the Allies and the river fleet largely destroyed. Even more serious was the damage inflicted on the German Elbe, which inevitably affected transport on the Czech portion. The Elbe transport also suffered after the war from the expulsion of the German population, which had been very thick along the river just below the northern frontier.

Ownership

Transport during the First Republic had a typically European mixture of public and private ownership. The State was most dominant on the railways, where it extended its ownership after 1923 by taking over many private lines; in 1937, it owned about four-fifths of the railway track. When the Communists took power they set up "Czechoslovak Railroads, National Enterprise." This was abolished in 1952, and since then the railroads have been administered by the Ministry of Railroads.

Highway transport before World War II was both publicly and privately-owned. In 1936, the number of buses was estimated at 3,000, of which 671 belonged to the Ministry of Transport and were operated by the railroads as an adjunct to their passenger lines. The private truck and bus lines were strong competitors of the State, frequently offering lower fares. Following the war many of the private carriers were nationalized, though in 1948 the private sector was still very large. After 1948, the Communist regime absorbed all motor transport. The national enterprise

is "Czechoslovak Automobile Transportation," and it is operated by the Ministry of Transport; other automobiles are run by local government bodies and by industry.

Before the war the waterways were privately operated by companies of various size, all subject to the direction of the Czechoslovak Navigation Office. Much of the freight traffic was carried in small boats, many of them singly owned, though there were several large joint-stock companies. In 1949 the regime set up three State enterprises—Czechoslovak Elbe Navigation, Czechoslovak Oder Navigation and Czechoslovak Danube Navigation. The Elbe and Oder enterprises were combined in 1952 and now function as a unit. The first Republic also had two airlines, one State and one private. After the war all air transport was taken over by the State and regrouped as Czechoslovak Airlines.

The Two Year Plan (1947-1948)

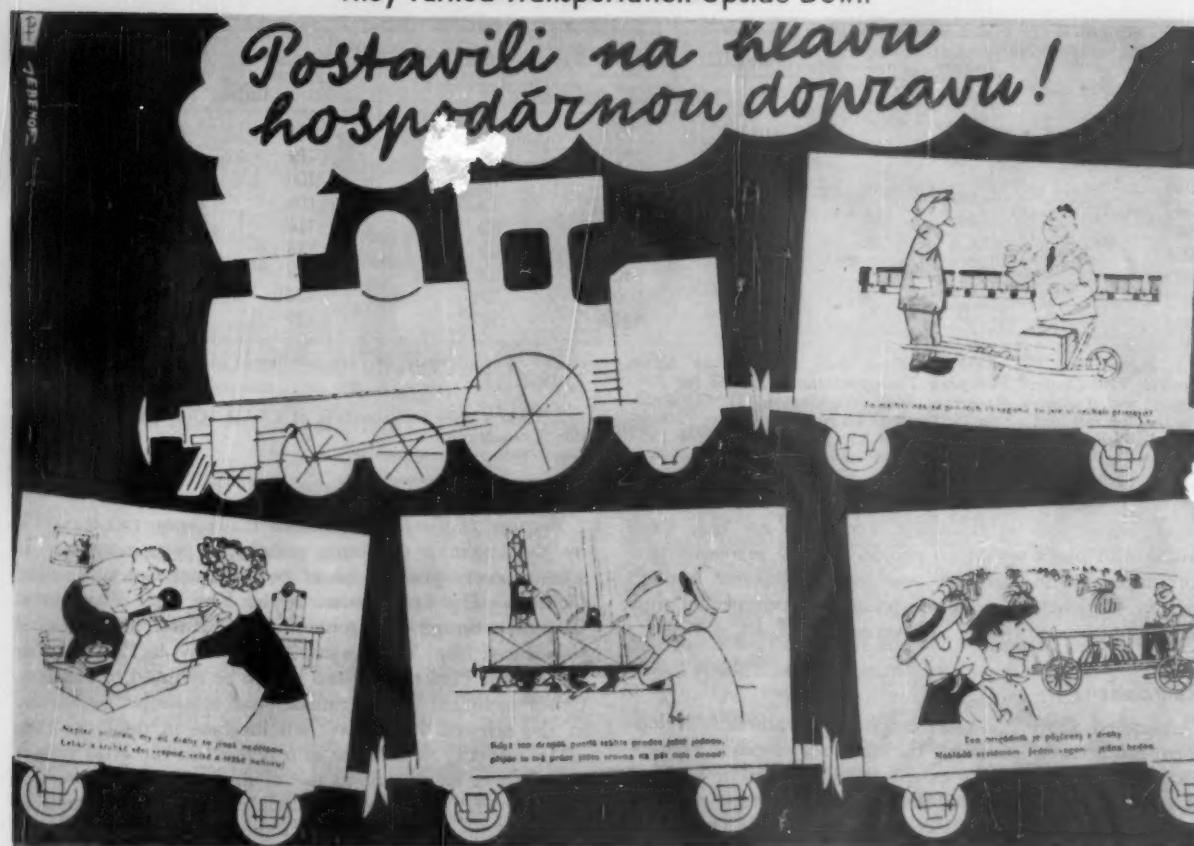
On October 25, 1946, the National Front Government launched the country's first attempt at economic planning. The Two Year Plan, which was to cover the years 1947 and 1948, was a compromise between the free economics of the West and overall State planning. In its Explanatory Memorandum, the Government stated that planning would not "be cut to any foreign pattern," but would be based on Czechoslovakia's own requirements. It was largely a program of reconstruction, and bore a striking resemblance to Poland's Three Year Plan of the same period. Of the total investment, 21.6 percent was allotted to transport and communications with the object of achieving by the end of 1948 a total carrying capacity equal to that of 1937. This was understood to mean 88-90 million tons of freight and about 335 million passengers. The main emphasis of the program was on rail and road transport, since it was felt that the war damage to water transport was too great to be made up in the space of two years. The Communist coup of February 1948 came in the midst of this Plan. Efforts to speed up fulfillment of the Two Year Plan began immediately, and by October 7, 1948, Premier Zapotocky claimed that the rail and road transport services had already exceeded their targets.

The Communist Plans

This claim was made in a speech to the National Assembly presenting the regime's new Plan for the years 1949-1953. In the course of his speech Zapotocky sounded the familiar note of Communist planning in other countries: "If I give particular emphasis to [President Gottwald's] statement that the expansion and rebuilding of our industry is an essential and indispensable condition of a raising of the standard of living, I do so in order to dispel at once any fond illusions that a raise in the standard of living may be regarded as a necessary corollary or, even, ought to precede the successful implementation of the Plan."

The iron jacket was on, and the advanced economy of Czechoslovakia was now to be shaped to the pattern of Moscow. For the transport services this meant bigger workloads, tighter schedules, and the very minimum of new equipment. Of the total investment under the Five Year

"They Turned Transportation Upside Down"



Upper right: "Is this supposed to be the freight for those 15 cars you ordered?" Lower left: "Don't worry, darling, this is how we do it on the railroad—light and fragile things at the bottom, large and heavy ones on top!" Lower center: "If you do that again you'll cost the government 5,000 *koruny* a day!" Lower right: "That brigade worker was borrowed from the railroad. He loads with a system: one wagon, one package."

Železnice (Prague), No. 12, 1954

Plan, transport and communications were to receive 15.8 percent. The total capacity of transport was to rise by 40 percent over the 1948 level. At the same time, however, national income was to go up by 48 percent and industrial output by 57 percent. The disparity between investment and expected output was most striking on the railroads: they were to expand their capacity by 38 percent with "only an insignificant increase of rolling stock"—i.e., 2,740 freight cars. It was hoped to accomplish this by "a greater utilization of existing capacity." Early in 1951 the Plan goals were jacked up another notch, when the regime announced that plan fulfillment was ahead of schedule, that the original goals could be reached in three and a half years instead of five, and that therefore targets would be revised. Industrial output was now to rise by 98 percent over the period instead of the 57 percent originally scheduled. Freight hauled on the railroads was to go up by 70 percent instead of 38 percent. Later on there were more revisions—both upward and downward—of the Plan goals for heavy industry. It is impossible to say exactly how much was invested in transport during these years, because planning

was obscured in the fog of official confusion that attended the deaths of Stalin and Gottwald and the inauguration of the New Course. (See *The Czechoslovak Course*, NBIC, April 1954.) According to figures published by the regime, the transport targets of the Five Year Plan as revised in 1951 were met. The railroads more than fulfilled their quota, and the total quantity of goods moved by road and rail was apparently more than 80 percent greater in 1953 than in 1948. (This follows from the claim that rail freight increased by 78 percent and highway freight by 100 percent.)

Since 1953 the Czechoslovak planners have concentrated on short-range plans in preparation for 1956, when the Soviet Union and most of its Satellites will begin new five-year plans simultaneously. The two interim one-year plans for transportation have been relatively less ambitious than the Five Year Plan. In 1954, the volume of transported goods was to increase by 6.5 percent. In 1955 the Plan did not specify a general transport target but only a target for the railroads, which were to increase their freight haulage by 5.4 percent. Neither of the Plans divulged anything

Estimated Passenger Traffic¹

	Railroads	Roads ²	Airlines	Railroads	Roads ²	Airlines
	(Millions of passengers)			(Index: 1948 = 100)		
1937	313.2	75.0	.057	75	30	34
1947	349.2	172.7	.199	84	68	119
1948	415.2	252.2	.167	100	100	100
1949	431.8	n.a.	n.a.	104	n.a.	n.a.
1950	482.7	n.a.	n.a.	116	n.a.	n.a.
1951	572.5	n.a.	n.a.	138	n.a.	n.a.
1952	560.0	n.a.	n.a.	135	n.a.	n.a.
1953	548.1	500.0	.334	132	198	200
1954	568.8	524.5	.347	137	208	208

1. Figures for 1937-1953 based on data compiled by Adam Rudzki, *East-Central European Transportation*, Council for Economic and Industry Research, Inc., Washington, D. C., 1955. Figures for rail and air in 1953 estimated from Five Year Plan results published in *Rude Pravo*, April 15, 1954. Figures for 1954

estimated from report of plan fulfillment in *Rude Pravo*, February 3, 1955.

2. Covers only the activities of CSAD (Czechoslovak Automobile Transportation).

about investment in transport, except to say that more trucks and buses would be provided. The increased performance of the railroads was to be achieved through greater efficiency—i.e., by shortening the turnaround time of freight cars and raising the average train load.

Railroads

As noted above, the chief emphasis in railroad development has been on increasing the efficiency of existing equipment rather than making extensive additions to it. Czechoslovakia's rail system is well-developed in its length of track, but only 18 percent of it is double-tracked and the network is much less developed in Slovakia than in the western provinces. During the Five Year Plan a link was built in Moravia between Havlickuv Brod and Brno, about 116 kilometers. Another line of 40 kilometers was built in Slovakia between Roznava and Turna. More than this had to be done, however, to carry the new trade loads which burdened the lines in Slovakia. According to official figures, the share of the Soviet bloc countries in Czechoslovak foreign trade was 79 percent in 1953, as compared with 11 percent in 1937.* In an effort to remove the eastern bottleneck, the "Friendship Line" from Kosice to Zilina was double-tracked, with the expectation that this would triple the line's capacity. (The double track has since been extended all the way from Prague to the Soviet border at Cierna nad Tisou.)

For the most part, capital improvements took the form of reconstructing junctions, strengthening roadbeds, building bridges and installing technical devices like automatic block systems and mechanical loading equipment. Two lines were electrified during the Five Year Plan: the above-mentioned Kosice-Zilina line and the main track between Prague and Ceska Trebova. Minister of Transport A. Pospisil said in 1954 that not all of the planned improvements had been completed.**

* *New York Times*, Nov. 18, 1955.

** *Vezeznice*, Prague, January 1954.

Because of the large demands made upon rail transport by the regime's economic policies, it was necessary to squeeze every possible bit of performance out of existing facilities. The first version of the Five Year Plan stated that the average turnaround time of a freight car would be reduced from 5.1 days in 1948 to 5 days in 1953. Under the revised Plan turnaround was to be reduced to 4.3 days. Other technical and organizational economies mentioned in the original Plan were: an increase in total car runs of 16 percent; an increase of 6 percent in the gross weight of trains; a more general use of through trains to reduce stopping and shunting; and quicker handling methods at the junctions. A host of Soviet speed-up methods were introduced among the workers. These included the "Lunin method" which encouraged crews to run their locomotives 100,000 kilometers without a check-up; the "Katayev method" to speed up switching operations; the "Kutafin method" to shorten the stay of trains in the stations; the "Zavodcik method" among the roundhouse crews; and the "Kolesov method" in the repair shops. There were also the usual "Socialist competitions" and pledges to exceed norms. Great encouragement was given to the "heavy tonnage movement," under which engineers compete to see who can haul the heaviest train. A number have pulled trains of more than 2,000 tons.

In spite of these strenuous efforts, the railroads were not able to overcome the serious shortage of rolling stock. The time of crisis comes in fall, when sugar beets and potatoes are being harvested, and in winter when the demand for coal increases. In October 1952 the situation grew so serious that Interior Minister Nosek had to make a public appeal over Radio Prague:

"Our railways are faced with important tasks. . . . I appeal to all of you for help, just as I appealed in the spring, when excessive snowfalls jeopardized our transportation system. This time, however, it has not been caused by adverse weather conditions but by the fact that a large number of cars which have not been unloaded encumber our railway lines and factories. The situation . . . requires

Estimated Freight Traffic¹

	Railroads	Roads ²	Waterways	Airlines	Railroads	Roads ²	Waterways	Airlines
	(Thousands of metric tons)				(Index: 1948 = 100)			
1937	70,752	15,500	3,926	n.a.	94	69	160	n.a.
1947	64,620	22,000	1,530	20.9	86	98	62	77
1948	75,108	22,400	2,459	27.0	100	100	100	100
1949	84,871	n.a.	2,153	n.a.	113	n.a.	88	n.a.
1950	97,743	n.a.	3,120	n.a.	130	n.a.	127	n.a.
1951	112,300	n.a.	4,080	n.a.	150	n.a.	166	n.a.
1952	119,599	34,400	4,620	73.6	159	154	188	273
1953	133,692	44,800	4,900	143.2	178	200	200	530
1954	139,301	52,100	4,900	n.a.	185	233	200	n.a.

1. Figures for 1937-1953 based on data compiled by Adam Rudzki, *East-Central European Transportation*, Council for Economic and Industry Research, Inc., Washington, D. C., 1955. Figures for rail freight in 1953 estimated from Five Year Plan results published in *Rude Pravo*, April 15, 1954. Figures for 1954

estimated from report of plan fulfillment in *Rude Pravo*, February 3, 1955.

2. Covers only the activities of CSAD (Czechoslovak Automobile Transportation).

immediate action by all responsible authorities... The present difficult situation... is due to the lack of strict attention to the plan for circulation of cars, and to the fact that cars were not unloaded in time... The position is so serious that these cars which should have been unloaded can be described as a threat to our national economy, to our supply system and to the functioning of some factories."

Another crisis came the following year. According to an article in the September 1955 issue of *Nova Mysl* (Prague), organ of the Central Committee of the Party, "the winter of 1953/1954 showed the enormous shortcomings of our railway transportation system. Extraordinary measures had to be taken to insure at least the transportation of vital freight, of coal above all. Passenger traffic had to be curtailed considerably and most of the regular freight traffic had to be temporarily eliminated. It became clear at that time that our railways manage to fulfill their growing tasks only with the utmost difficulties and that something must be done quickly, if we do not want to endanger the whole development of our national economy."

Official performance figures indicate that the railroads more than fulfilled overall targets set for them under the Five Year Plan as revised in 1951. Such statistics, of course, reveal only the percentage increases in total freight and passenger traffic, and do not show whether performance was adequate in all areas. According to *Rude Pravo* (Prague), April 15, 1954, railroad freight increased by 78 percent from 1948 to 1953, and passenger traffic by 32 percent. The targets for freight and passengers had been, respectively, about 70 percent and 27 percent. The daily loading of freight cars rose by 49 percent, the average load of a freight train by 23.4 percent. The average consumption of fuel by locomotives decreased 18.3 percent.

The plans for 1954 and 1955 called for smaller increases. The volume of freight carried was to rise by 4.3 percent in 1954 and 5.4 percent in 1955. The increases were to be achieved by reducing the turnaround time of freight cars to 3.9 days in 1954 and 3.8 days in 1955, and by raising even higher the average weight of trains. The plan for 1954 is reported to have been substantially fulfilled.

There are no adequate figures on the quantity of rolling stock, but the available evidence suggests that it cannot be much greater than before the war, although recent equipment has raised its efficiency. In 1937 there were between 90,000 and 100,000 freight cars, but in 1946 the number had fallen to about 60,000.* The Two Year Plan had envisaged a total of 3,269 steam locomotives in service by the end of 1948, or about the same number as in 1937. However, in late 1948 the introductory memorandum to the Five Year Plan stated that "the Czechoslovak State Railways operate with only four-fifths of the locomotives, three-quarters of the freight cars and 70 percent of the passenger coaches" of the prewar railroads. At the beginning of 1954 Minister of Transport A. Pospisil stated that the number of freight cars was 25 percent greater than in 1937.**

The shortcomings of the railroads under their present management have been pointed up in many first-hand reports. Railway employees who escaped to the West have described the regimented working conditions, inadequate wages and lack of proper parts and equipment. Travellers report that trains are usually late and in bad condition. Most of these criticisms can be corroborated in public statements by members of the regime or by articles in the official press.

An editorial in *Rude Pravo* on March 25, 1954, for example, complained of lack of discipline and said that "violation of discipline, orders and rules is the main cause of accidents on the railways." It blamed the "serious failure" of transportation the previous winter on "bad organization, inflexibility, lack of decision and responsibility" among administrative personnel. The criticism of workers' discipline was echoed later in the year by President Zapotocky before a national conference of railroad workers. "Only strict discipline in the work of railroad workers can assure safe transportation. Therefore, discipline in such a large and complicated operation as that of the railroads will have to approximate that of military discipline." (*Rude Pravo*,

* Statistical Digest of the Czechoslovak Republic, Prague, 1948.

** *Železnice*, January 1954.

Sept. 22, 1954.) On October 1 of the same year the regime introduced a new wage and premium system for railroad employees, copied from the one in effect on Soviet railroads. The previous system, according to official statements, had placed too much emphasis on seniority and not enough on performance. The new system features "functional salaries," which are graduated according to the responsibility, significance and difficulty of the job. For some jobs the premiums were readjusted to place more emphasis on performance than before. Locomotive and train squads were to be paid in a manner similar to industrial piece work, with their compensation depending on the number of kilometers covered, the weight of the train, the extent to which they economized in fuel and lubricants, the technical condition of the locomotive, etc.

Meanwhile, on June 26, 1954, the Party and government issued a joint Decision. It listed the principal shortcomings which would have to be corrected if the railways were not to break down completely in another emergency: poor maintenance of rolling stock and especially of locomotives; bad operation, including a purely "formalistic" attitude toward fulfillment of plans on the part of engineering and technical cadres; antiquated technological procedures at many railway centers and switching yards, and a slow introduction of new, modern Soviet methods. The Decision took note of arguments that the railways had reached the limit of their possibilities at present and that further improvement could be achieved only at the price of enormous investments. It condemned this as an "incorrect" attitude and insisted that present equipment was not correctly utilized and that there were still considerable reserves which had to be uncovered.*

Most of these reserves remained uncovered a year later, according to *Nova Mysl* of September 1955. For example, the utilization of locomotives was still inadequate, despite the "heavy tonnage movement." The journal stated that:

"The number of our heavy tonnage engineers is growing constantly. In the fourth quarter of 1954, there were 18,636 heavy tonnage trains formed, which transported 4,377,046 tons above the specified norm. These results... are, however, lost in the results of the whole network of railways. It is true that during the past three years the average tonnage of trains increased by about 25%, but it is also true that there are too many trains running half empty. Thus the individual, good achievements are being drowned in the final result."

Another serious problem is the circulation of freight cars: "In the capitalist economic anarchy, the railway services, in order to compete with other means of transportation, are mainly preoccupied with fast movement of freight cars from loading station to destination. After the car is unloaded, it stands in the yard for 10 or 20 days, as for instance in the USA, until a new customer is found." According to *Nova Mysl* much of this "anarchy" still exists on the Czechoslovak railroads. Only 10 percent of turn-around time is consumed in actual travel. The average freight car still spends 40 percent of its time in loading and

unloading stations and another 33 percent in servicing stations.

What is needed, says the Party organ, is more "Socialist competition." But it will have to be of better quality than in the past. "It must be emphasized that in spite of a large number of Socialist competitions, their fulfillment does not show in the improvement of the results and in the increase of labor productivity. The reason... is... that a large part of these obligations is only formal... and most of them are aimed only at the fulfillment of the plan and not at its overfulfillment. The managing organs of the railways of all grades, the Party, and Trade Union leaders must accept a considerable part of the blame, since they did not take Socialist competitions seriously and they neglected to concentrate their efforts on the fulfillment of the most important indices of the plan."

The article also points to a crucial weakness in the vast array of norms that govern railway workers. Of the 108,141 work norms in the railway service only 35 percent have been technically and scientifically checked. The remainder are paper norms based on statistics, and they tend to be too low and can therefore be easily overfulfilled.

Roads

The unevenness of the country's economic development was reflected in the state of the road network. Of 70,000 kilometers of road in 1946, Slovakia had only about 14,000, or a fifth of the total. In Bohemia there were 75 kilometers of road per 100 square kilometers of area, and in Moravia 60 kilometers, contrasted with only 30 in Slovakia. Much of this network was inadequate for heavy traffic, and in Slovakia the war damage was great, especially to bridges. The Two Year Plan, which emphasized reconstruction and repair, did not make up all the losses because of shortages of labor and materials. The Five Year Plan called for the rehabilitation of 1,500 bridges and the extension of surfaced roads by 60 percent, but the degree to which this was accomplished is not known.

The importance of motor transport as compared with rail and water transport grew after the war. Though the Two Year Plan did not set a definite target, it envisaged a relatively larger increase in the performance of the highway sector. The stock of equipment was larger than in 1937, thanks to a contribution from UNRRA of about 16,000 trucks and trailers. According to the memorandum to the Five Year Plan, "road haulage" in 1948 carried about 20 million tons of freight and about 225 million passengers. This was about a quarter of the freight volume carried by the railroads in that year.

The Five Year Plan, in its first version, called for an increase of 23 percent in freight volume and 36 percent in the number of passengers. When the Plan was revised in the Spring of 1951, the share of highway transport in the total transport target was raised, though no specific figure was published. It is difficult to arrive at any estimate of actual performance during these years. In 1954 "Transportation Publishing" in Prague brought out a glossy little pamphlet which purported to show the accomplishments of

* *Nova Mysl*, Prague, September 1955.

the CSAD (Czechoslovak Automobile Transportation) during the Five Year Plan. According to its bar charts the CSAD was phenomenally successful: it raised its freight volume by 1388 percent.* This figure was solemnly repeated by Joseph Rajchl, Deputy Minister of Transportation, and he added the news that between 1946 and 1954 there had been "a twenty-five fold increase in the tonnage of transported goods..."** However, a more sober figure appeared in *Rude Pravo* on April 15, 1954. The newspaper said that in 1953 the CSAD "transported double the amount of freight as compared with 1948." It also revealed the origin of the astronomical figure of 1388 percent: "While [in 1948] only 16 percent of freight transportation and only 68 percent of passenger transportation belonged to the Socialist sector... this sector was the only operator at the end of the Five Year Plan." Thus most of Rajchl's accomplishment lay in the expansion of the State enterprise through forceful incorporation of several thousand private operators.

The first one-year plan called for a further increase of 11.7 percent in the volume of highway freight during 1954, as compared with a smaller increase of 4.3 percent in railway freight. The plan for 1955 did not specify a target.

Bus transportation overfulfilled its target under the revised Five Year Plan. According to the *Rude Pravo* article mentioned above, "the target of the increased Five Year Plan was reached as early as 1951, and in 1953 the plan was fulfilled 128 percent. The number of passengers increased to more than double. The number of routes grew by 136 percent as compared with 1948 and the mileage was extended by 120 percent." Deputy Minister Rajchl, in the *Doprava* article already cited, said that half of the bus passengers were people going to work and children going to school.

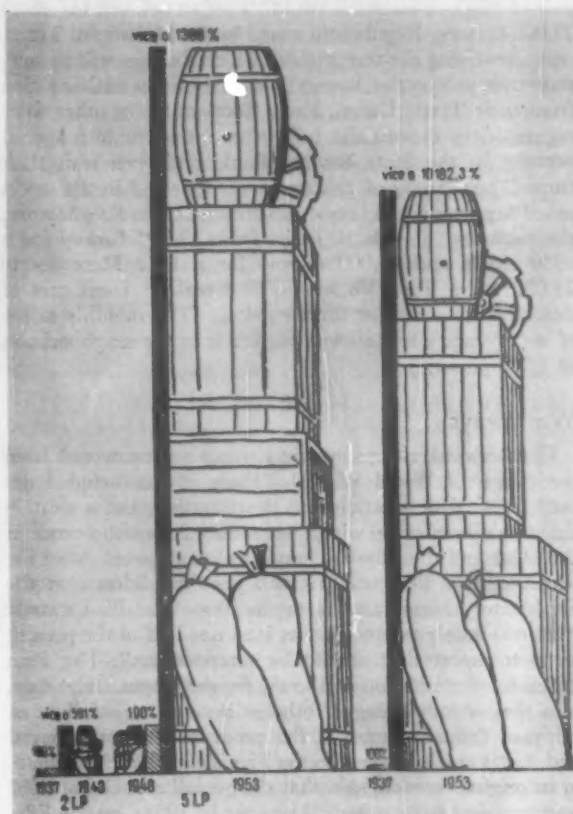
The regime policy has been to give short hauls to road transport, leaving the longer hauls to the railroads. This continues a practice begun during the Two Year Plan, when it was stated that road transport was more economical over short distances—up to 40 or 50 kilometers—than rail transport. Trucking—it is stated in the Plan—"provides rapid and direct transport, is more economical in labor and packing and allows of delivery from door to door." The Five Year Plan defined the respective functions more precisely: short-haul trucking would be of a "radial" nature and specialize in the delivery of small lots in local areas; when long-distance trucking was done it would be chiefly to replace rail routes that had been discontinued or were not economically feasible. In October 1954 a new "district system" was inaugurated for the transportation of small lots. Under this system the railroads discharge freight only at stations designated as the centers of districts, and CSAD trucks transport it the rest of the way. Among the advantages claimed for the district system is that, since it requires only 144 railroad stations instead of 2,000, it reduces the running time of freight cars. It also enables better utilization of trucking facilities.

Figures for road rolling stock are of doubtful value, es-

* Jak rostla doprava v Československu, Prague, 1954.

** *Doprava*, Prague, May 1955.

Communist Statistics: How to Make a Good Impression



These propaganda charts show the growth in freight transportation by CSAD—the State trucking enterprise—from (left) 1937 to 1948, (center) 1948 to 1953, and (right) 1937 to 1953. Charts do not show that CSAD expanded from 1948 to 1953 by taking over private trucking firms. Real increase in truck transport from 1948 to 1953 was about 100%—not 1,388%.

Chart from "Transportation Publishing" (Prague), 1954

pecially since they do not distinguish the types of vehicles and the uses made of them. The *Statistical Yearbook of the United Nations*, 1953, gave the total for commercial vehicles of all types as 65,000 in 1950. During the Five Year Plan the automotive industry was to produce the equivalent of 24,000 motor trucks (the figure includes cars and buses), as well as 20,000 tractors, 75,000 motorcycles and 330,000 bicycles. Much of this was for export. According to *Rude Pravo* of April 10, 1955, Czechoslovakia exported 6,000 tractors to Argentina in the space of four years. Other reports in the press mention the export of trucks (Skoda 706) to South America and the Near East, of private automobiles to Scandinavia and Finland, and of bicycles to various countries (11,000 to Poland in the first half of 1955).*

* *Rude Pravo*, Sept. 6, 1955; *Lidova Demokracie* (Prague), Sept. 30, 1955 and Aug. 17, 1955; *Prace* (Prague), July 31, 1955; *Mlada Fronta* (Prague), March 19, 1954.

Much publicity has been given to a new private car, the Skoda 440, scheduled for the domestic market in the latter half of 1955. This small two-door sedan will sell for about 27,000 *koruny*. Regulations issued by the Ministry of Transport, specifying the terms under which the cars will be sold, state that prospective buyers must first obtain authorization from their Trade Union, Farm Cooperative or other work organization, deposit the full price of the car in a special account in the State Savings Bank, and then wait their turn. The scarcity of private cars is reflected in the prices asked for second-hand ones. Advertisements in *Svet Motoru*, the motoring periodical, range from 13,000 *koruny* for a 1930 Adler and 15,000 *koruny* for a 1932 Mercedes to 28,000 for a Ford V8 of German make.* Used cars of domestic make sell for similar prices. (The monthly salary of an average Czechoslovak worker is in the neighborhood of 1,200 *koruny*.)

Waterways

Czechoslovak river shipping has not yet recovered from the effects of World War II. These effects included not only physical destruction and deterioration, but a shift in the direction of trade which has reduced the importance of the Oder and the Elbe as channels of commerce. After the war the river fleet was in such poor condition that the Explanatory Memorandum to the Two Year Plan stated: "We may safely assume that at least one half of the present water-transport fleet should be scrapped..." The Plan called for the addition of 45 new freight barges and 4 tugs, plus the reconditioning of others. Because of a failure of shipyard deliveries, most of this program was not achieved and it was carried over into the Five Year Plan. This Plan, in its original version, said that the overall capacity of river transport was to be raised 70 percent by 1953: on the Elbe freight volume was to rise by 26 percent; on the Oder by 192 percent; and on the Danube by 69 percent. According

* *Svet Motoru* (Prague), 1954, Nos. 22, 23 and 26.



Caption reads: "Latest product of the C.K.D. engineering works, Prague, a new diesel-electric railway engine, now undergoing trial runs on the State railways in Czechoslovakia. It is intended for use in light goods and passenger services. The engine is 700 h.p. and top speed is 70 km. an hour."

Czechoslovak Life (Prague), October 1955



"View of one of our new modern tug boats 'Tatra,' shortly before it sailed for Magdeburg."

Svet V Obrazech (Prague), August 13, 1955

to official statistics the volume of freight actually rose by 100 percent over the five years. On the Danube it rose by 115 percent and on the Elbe and Oder rivers together it rose by 94 percent.*

The stock of boats, however, remains less than before the war, and much of it is obsolescent. According to current reports, the Elbe fleet has only 4 tugs and 20 barges in good condition. The Oder fleet consisted in 1954 of about 15 tugs and several times as many barges. In January 1955 Deputy Minister of Transportation Stejskal admitted that the river fleets and port equipment are obsolescent and said that a complete replacement was necessary.** (In spite of this, the country's shipyards manufacture boats for export; it has been reported that early in 1955, 14 river boats and 19 barges were delivered to the USSR.) Other reports testify to a lack of manpower—for example, crews of the Oder River boats were seriously undermanned in 1954 and had to work long hours without overtime pay.

Though the regime has pared its shipping budgets to a minimum, the waterways still operate at a deficit according to Deputy Minister Stejskal. He blamed this on unused capacity arising from poor coordination with other transport services. In 1954 the unused capacity of ships going down the Danube amounted to 217,568 tons. On the Elbe the lost tonnage amounted to 30,000. While ships were going half empty all the way to Hamburg, much freight was being transported in the same direction by rail. He said that the Ministry of Transportation is trying to improve the situation on the Danube by channelling exports to the Middle and Far East down that river to the Romanian ports of Braila and Galati.***

* *Doprava*, May 1955.

** Speech to the Conference of the Captains of Czechoslovak River Ships, published in *Ceskoslovensky Dopravak* (Prague), 1955, No. 5.

*** *Ibid.*

Airlines

Before the Communist seizure of power in 1948, Czechoslovak airlines serviced most of the capitals of Europe and other large foreign cities, including London, Stockholm, Oslo, Athens, Istanbul, Ankara and Cairo. With the intensification of the cold war much of the network had to be abandoned, including all the lines that passed over West Germany. In 1948, 85 percent of the airline operations—measured in ton-kilometers—had been international, but by 1954 this sector of air transport had shrunk to 26 percent of the total. In 1955 the link with Paris was opened again, and joint Czechoslovak-Soviet operations began on the line between Prague and Moscow. The regime also declared its intention of renewing plane connections with Belgrade and of starting a line to Tirana in Albania.

Internally there is regular air transport between Prague, Brno, Bratislava, Kosice, Ostrava, Gottwaldov, Olomouc, Proprad, Sliac and Presov. Most of the passengers are officials, and the schedules are so arranged that they can make daily round trips between one city and another. In 1951 an "air taxi" service was introduced, using two-motor planes carrying three passengers. Its function is to provide auxiliary service to points not on the regular lines.

The Five Year Plan expected the distance flown by the airlines in 1953 to be 120 percent greater than in 1948. Most of this increase was to be on the international lines, which were to raise their distance flown by 134 percent as compared with 58 percent for the domestic lines. The goal was not achieved, largely because so many international lines were discontinued. An official source gives the performance in 1953 as 59 percent greater than in 1949, though it fails to specify the unit of measurement.*

The airlines rely on the Soviet Union for their new planes, which consist of types Ilyushin 12 and Li 2. They have also used reconverted Dakotas obtained from Allied war surplus.

Patterns and Conclusions

Czechoslovakia is the only advanced industrial nation to have fallen to the Communists. Because of its relative advancement, the policies of the regime in the field of transportation might have been expected to differ from those in other captive countries. But exactly the same Soviet pattern has been followed here as elsewhere. Though the regime gave lip service to a goal of raising the standard

* Engineer Frantisek Chvatal in *Doprava*, May 1955. Most of this material on air transport is drawn from his article.

Respect for Man

"The weak spot of our railroad transportation, especially passenger transportation, is the problem of cleanliness and hygiene. I do not hesitate to say that we are lagging behind in this area. It is necessary to emphasize that aside from lateness most complaints concern the lack of cleanliness in our cars. This is a matter which could be overcome through good organization and care. I think that what is lacking on the part of our transportation offices is respect for man."

Deputy Ladislav Wait in the
Czechoslovak National Assembly,
Mlada Fronta, March 24, 1955.

of living, this has been put second to the old Stalinist pre-occupation with heavy industry. Investment in transportation has been kept to the very minimum necessary to move freight and carry workers back and forth from their jobs.

The minimum is a low one: it involves a completely different concept of transport operation from that found in western countries or in pre-Communist Czechoslovakia. Operations are guided by an almost military notion of efficiency, i.e., units of output per unit of input, or hundreds of tons per locomotive, or thousands of passenger-kilometers per bus driver. Performance is to be raised mainly by reducing the denominator of the ratio, and the denominator is ultimately a human being. Hence the introduction of all the Soviet techniques for exploiting the work force, with their apparatus of norms and competitions and exhortations to "build Socialism." From a technical viewpoint the net effect is to make transportation more primitive, since the emphasis is on carrying as big a load as possible with the least effort. Traditional standards of punctuality, flexibility, cleanliness and passenger comfort go by the board—except as material for "Socialist criticism"—because the standard of efficiency based on output has no room for them, and also because they require reserves of rolling stock and manpower which are considered "capitalist waste."

Whether this fundamental attitude will change in the future depends on whether the regime can really raise the standard of living, or more specifically whether the Communist ideology can adapt itself to the requirements of an advanced economy rather than a backward one. So far no such adaptation has taken place.



Albanian Communist Partisans, in German uniforms, parading after Tirana victory.

Private photograph.

History of the Albanian

Communist Party II

The concluding article on the background and development of the least known Communist Party in the Soviet bloc. Part I appeared in the November 1955 issue.*

BLAZO JOVANOVIĆ, Yugoslav observer to the forthcoming First Territorial Conference of the Albanian Communist Party (convoled in the name of the Party-dominated National Liberation Movement), arrived at Labinot, Albania, in December 1942. He brought with him a letter from Marshal Tito to the Albanian CC, dated September 22. Its tone was that of the strict but kindly schoolmaster, very knowing, full of good advice. It read, in part:

"Dear Comrades,

"... We have asked the Comintern in your name to permit the convocation of a Conference of the Albanian Party and the election of a permanent CC. Yesterday the Comintern finally responded, giving its approval. Among other things it said:

"1. You must protect the Conference in all respects from infiltration, and above all not permit the admission of suspect provocative elements.

"2. The essential task of the Conference must be the creation of a secure Party and the elaboration of concrete

decisions: a) Organizing the development of the battle for national liberation. . . . b) The creation and reinforcement of the national front of all Albanian patriots, avoiding for the moment the emphasis of slogans that fall outside the frame of Albanian national liberation; c) The admission into the direction of the partisan war, in addition to all possible Communists, of as great a number as possible of honest nationalists and patriotic Albanians."

"... We wish to add [to these Comintern instructions] only one more point that you can take up in the course of the Conference, and that is the organizational question of the CPA [Albanian Communist Party], in which it is necessary to examine with care the problem of the union and cleansing of the CPA.

"... in Albania there still exists a mass of various small groups and anti-Party elements with which accounts have not been settled with sufficient energy, and which greatly interfere not only with the strengthening of the Party but particularly with the overcoming of the tasks that lie before the CPA.

"The CPA can become the guide of the battle for national liberation of the Albanian people only if it is united and monolithic, and if its members follow strictly all the decisions of the Party. Furthermore, the success of the CPA in organizing and executing the national liberation war will be assured only if the Albanian Communists are found in the front rank of that battle and always in the most difficult positions.

"The fundamental weakness, as you yourself say in your resolutions, is the ineffective contact and activity of your Party with the peasants. It is just this weakness that represents the major obstacle to the successful accomplishment of a task as great as the armed battle against the occupation. The most numerous and most important element of your armed unity can only be the peasants, since you have no industrial centers. . . .

"You must openly unmask before the members of the CPA the Trotskyite Fundo and his collaborators, and declare him an open enemy of the CP, who must be made absolutely ineffective among the Party ranks. . . .

"Death to fascism—liberty to the people

With fraternal salutations
For the Central Committee
of the Yugoslav Communist Party

Tito."¹

In the letter, Tito also scolded the Albanians for their incorrect formulation of the methods of partisan organization. They had stated that the partisan forces were the "armed force of the Party," had suggested a system whereby the staff of officers of the various detachments also constituted the Party committee for the area. According to Tito, this was wrong: "Such an interpretation and such sectarianism would make it impossible for the CPA to create a vast movement of national liberation and to wage a successful battle against the occupation." The staffs of officers must include non-Party patriots as well as Party members, Tito said. The Party, of course, was to "guide" this mass army.

The First Albanian Party (and NLM) Conference met at Labinot on March 17-22, 1943. The delegates had been elected by the 6-7,000 NLM members (there were 50 delegates according to *Il Sangue Tradito*, 70 according to *Rapport au Ier Congres*). Jovanovic speaks of these elections as "secret and unanimous"; an interesting thought, a familiar sound. The delegates sang the International, sent telegrams of salutation to "Comrade Stalin, to the Comintern and to the Red Army."

* Sources: Source materials on recent Albanian history are scarce, difficult to obtain, and often contradictory. Included here are unpublished accounts by a number of Albanians and Yugoslavs, material from Albanian newspapers and radio, and two books: *Il Sangue Tradito* by Vladimir Dedijer and *Rapport au Ier Congres* by Enver Hoxha. The inherent warp of Hoxha's official Communist version of Albanian history is obvious. The Dedijer book also presents problems of credibility. The title, *Blood Betrayed*, is indicative of the book's purpose: it was written after the Yugoslav expulsion from the Cominform and intended to demonstrate the great debt owed by the Albanian CP to the Yugoslav Party. Its author was not only a Yugoslav Partisan leader, but the official biographer of Tito, and former editor of *Borba*. However, his book is heavily documented, and where checking with other sources has been possible, has proved fairly reliable. Nonetheless, some skepticism is necessary especially in personal memoirs where material is undocumented and often at variance with other reports.

In addition to these ritual observances, the Conference confirmed the provisional Central Committee (headed by Enver Hoxha), created a Supreme Command of the National Liberation Movement (headed by Enver Hoxha), and an NLM Army (headed by Enver Hoxha).

Tito's admonitions were promptly obeyed. The connection between his stress on the nation-wide scope of the NLM and the rigorous cleansing of unreliable Party elements was simple: only by a rigidly disciplined and monolithic Party could such a mass movement be adequately controlled. The Albanian postulation had been a liberation army under formal control of the Party alone, a Party which could then afford some internal laxities. Tito's conception was more sophisticated, and more deadly.

The Labinot Conference therefore called upon the Party to "rally the entire people to the national liberation Front and to increase awareness of the necessity for battle against the occupier." Together with this, the Conference approved "the bitter and just battle led by the Central Committee against the factionists Anastas Luli, Sadik Premte, and their comrades. . . ." (Luli and Premte had been members of the pre-Party Youth group; shortly after the formation of the Party Luli was killed by the Communists, Premte was attacked but managed to escape.)

The Conference stated:

"It is necessary to sharpen the intelligence of our comrades so that they will not let themselves be duped by the provocations of the adversary who seeks by all means to introduce secret enemies into our ranks; to combat the importation of all foreign ideas that the enemy seeks to introduce . . .; to combat pitilessly the various Trotskyite deviations and to take up in a serious manner the purging from Party ranks of indecisive, inactive and irresolute elements, and above all the elements of [the former] groups."²

The Second Labinot Conference was convened in July 1943. Its function was to arrange in greater detail the expansion of armed forces called for by the First Conference. Brigade and battalion tables of organization were laid out, political commissars and military leaders were selected. What had been a network of guerilla bands was to become an army.

Opposition

By the summer of 1943, much hard fighting and much blood was still ahead, but the eventual defeat of the Axis in Europe was foreseeable. Mussolini fell, Allied troops advanced on Rome, the Italian surrender was imminent.

In Albania, as eventual victory became increasingly certain, the coalition of resistance forces formed at the September 1942 Peza conference began to fall apart. Elements in that Communist-dominated coalition, frightened by realization of the Communist ambitions hidden under the

1. *Il Sangue Tradito, Relazioni Jugoslavo-Albanesi 1938-1949*; Vladimir Dedijer; Varese, Editoriale Periodici Italiana, 1949; pp. 20-24.

2. Enver Hodja [Hoxha], *Rapport Au Ier Congres du Parti Communiste D'Albanie Sur L'Activite du Comite Central et Sur Les Devoirs Nouveaux du Parti*, 8 Novembre 1948; Tirana, 1951; p. 73.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

slogans of patriotic unity, began to withdraw. These elements centered on two groups: the monarchist Legaliteti in the north, led by Abas Kupa, and the Balli Kombetar, organized by conservatives of the south.

Abas Kupa, a tough, intelligent, illiterate Gheg chieftain, had fought brilliantly against Zog's attempts to break the power of the northern clans. Kupa refrained from opposing Zog's *putsch* against Fan Noli, however, and after Zog's assumption of power at the end of 1924 the latter appointed Kupa chief of the militia of Kruja, Kupa's home.

Kupa was among the first to take up resistance to the Italian invader. In the rugged mountains of the north he rallied about him many of the Gheg chiefs. He was prevented from making any really effective resistance by the lack of arms and supplies, and by the reluctance of the clans to fight except sporadically, and only when their own territory was directly threatened. It appears that many of the "resistance bands" of the north were little more than freebooting mountaineers, brought to fight the invader by the prestige of Abas Kupa and the promise of British gold.

Kupa had joined the NLM at its formation in 1942, was a member of its ten-man Communist-dominated Central Council. In his excellent book, *Sons of the Eagle*, Julian Amery, who was dropped into Gheg country in 1944 with a British mission to Kupa, points out that in joining the NLM, Abas Kupa (and the two other chief Gheg leaders, Muslim Peza and Baba Faja) made it possible for the Communists

to expand their influence in the north while retaining complete control of the Tosk south. The Gheg chieftains were dependent on their local personal influence, which demanded their presence in their home areas if the delicate balance of clan rivalries and tensions was to be maintained. This meant, in effect, that the actual direction of the NLM was always in Communist hands.⁴

The Balli Kombetar (National Front), was created by conservative southern politicians (among them Midhat Frasheri and Ali Klissura) toward the end of 1942; it immediately put some small fighting units in the field. The Balli was strongly nationalistic. High on its program was the demand for an ethnic Albania, meaning the retention of the Kosovo, that area in the north, largely populated by Albanians, which Serbia had annexed in 1912; the Italian occupation had given most of it to Albania. The Balli was also violently anti-Communist (it is, indeed, open to

4. *Sons of the Eagle*, Julian Amery; London: Macmillan, 1948. It is interesting to note the rigid security maintained by the Communist partisan forces. Amery, a shrewd and intelligent observer, had been in touch with Albanian resistance forces from the first moment, and had parachuted into Albania early in 1944. Nevertheless, he was unaware of the details of Party and Partisan organization, and states that the former had been "apparently" formed with the guidance of two Yugoslav emissaries who bore the pseudonyms of Ali and Miladin. This is a confused reference to Miladin Popovic, whose cover name was Ali, and Dusan Mugosa. Amery also refers to an "Ali Dushanovitch"; this is a combination of the two men.

Communist Partisans Parading after Victory



Private photograph taken November 29, 1944

Victory Parade in Tirana



First row, left to right: Koci Xoxe, Enver Hoxha, Omer Nishani, and Muslim Peza. Second row: Mehmet Shehu, Spiro Moissi, Medar Shtylla. Private photograph.

question how much more antipathetic the Balli was to the Fascist reality than to the Communist possibility.)

The Mukaj Pact

There were men in the leadership of both the CPA and the Balli who wished, in the summer of 1943, to secure closer cooperation of the two organizations in the fight for liberation, momentarily laying aside their profound political differences. It may be taken for granted that both sides thought of this collaboration as a suspension of the eventual struggle for internal power. In August 1943, a delegation of the NLM, including the Communists Ymer Dishnica and Mustafa Gjinishi, and Abas Kupi, met with Balli leaders at Mukaj. An agreement was concluded there for the formation of a joint NLM-Balli movement, to be called the "Committee for the Salvation of Albania."

The Balli's major condition for this agreement was adoption of a program including the demand for the permanent annexation of the Kosovo. The Communists agreed, after some haggling, and returned to Partisan headquarters at Labinot. Shortly thereafter, Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo, a Yugoslav Communist leader, and Tito's emissary to the Second Labinot Conference, arrived at headquarters. He immediately denounced the agreement, demanded that the Albanian Communists repudiate it in the name of the NLM. The Albanian Communists complied.

This imposition of naked Yugoslav self-interest on Albanian Communist policy was masked by a barrage of accusations against the Balli. *Il Sangue Tradito* speaks of the Mukaj agreement as "the complete subjection of the NLM to them [Balli Kombetar]," and its acceptance as a "shameful betrayal."

Although official Albanian Communist history has claimed that the Mukaj agreement was the fault of Dishnica (purged from the Party in 1946) and Gjinishi (killed within the year), it is probable that Hoxha and a majority of the CC were in favor of it. The recovery of the Kosovo was not only desirable in itself, but its espousal would be a most attractive slogan to enlist the sympathies of the people. Nevertheless, when once the Party had spoken through the voice of the Yugoslav Vukmanovic-Tempo, Hoxha and the rest obeyed. Indeed, at the First Albanian Party Congress in November 1948, after the Cominform break with Yugoslavia, Hoxha still spoke of the Mukaj agreement as "treason," and denounced the slogan of an "ethnic Albania" as "a chauvinist viewpoint used by the enemy as a weapon to sow discord with neighboring peoples and to attack the Albanian Communist Party."⁵ In this point, as in so many others, the relationship between Communist Yugoslavia and Communist Albania before 1948 mirrored in miniature the relationships between the Soviet Union and her Satellites.

5. *Rapport au Ier Congres*, p. 77.

After the renunciation of the Mukaj agreement, open conflict between the Communist NLM and the other resistance elements was inevitable. The last chance for a battlefield coalition had been destroyed.

Fratricide

The situation was exacerbated by the Italian surrender and the occupation of the country by German troops. The Italians had made Albania a possession of the Italian crown, ruled by an Italian *luogotenente* or Viceroy. The Germans, on the advice of Hitler's Balkan expert, Dr. Hermann Neubacher, gave Albania legal independence; it was ruled by a puppet Council of Regents, and declared itself a neutral. Under such a nominally independent establishment, and with relative noninterference in everyday affairs by the Germans, many Balli elements were sufficiently content with the status of the country to leave the opposition. The more reactionary elements affiliated themselves immediately with the puppet government and its German masters; others did so under the pressure of mounting attacks by the NLM.

These attacks on the Balli forces, as well as the struggle against the Germans, grew rapidly. The First Brigade of the NLM was formed in August 1943, with the Yugoslav Dusan Mugosa as its adviser. By November there were probably four brigades. This rapid expansion was made possible by the seizure of equipment from surrendering Italians, and by supplies which now began to come in from the Allied Command.

The Germans, interested in Albania only as a strategic area, made little attempt to control the countryside, but pulled their forces (probably about 2½ divisions) into the cities and towns, emerging only for rapid and crushing punitive expeditions. Great areas were open to NLM control; the Communists took advantage of this to destroy the remaining Balli forces. Those not destroyed fled to the protection of the Germans in the fortified areas, and aided the Germans in their sallies against the Partisans.

Along with this military attack, the Communists mounted a violent propaganda campaign designed to convince the Albanian people and the Anglo-American supply depots that the Balli was a Nazi tool, and that the NLM was not Communist-dominated and had no postwar Communist aims. In the first contention there was, indeed, some truth: the Balli did, under whatever pressures, collaborate with the Germans. There were also many lies: it was considered preferable to attribute as much war damage as possible to the Balli rather than the Germans. As early as September 1943, a Shpati Circular (secret instructions to Party cells in the NLM; Shpati was Enver Hoxha's Partisan name) stated that: "... we must work according to the following directives: to discredit the Balli in the eyes of the people through clever exposure and continuous work . . . introduce Balli to the people as a source of civil war . . . prepare the people for war against Balli. . . ."⁶

6. *Albania under the Communists: A Handbook*, Stavro Skendi, general editor, Ch. VIII. To be published in April 1956 by Frederick Praeger, New York, for the Mid-European Studies Center. Examined in manuscript.

The Shpati Circular of November 3, 1943⁷ instructed the Party's district committees to persuade the people that "the Reaction" was a tool in the hands of the enemy, that the NLM war against it was not ideological but a struggle to prevent the restoration of the pre-1939 regime, that the announced desire of "the Reaction" for unity of insurgent forces was mere demagoguery, that "the Reaction" was responsible for the terror of civil war, and that while the NLM brought order and discipline to liberated areas, "the Reaction" brought pillage and plunder.

Along with these attacks on the Balli, the NLM attempted to attract the allegiance of the masses by such pronouncements as the following, taken from the statutes of the National Liberation Councils, approved by the Second NLM Conference, Labinot, July 1943:

"It [National Liberation Councils and NLM] fights for the liberation of Albania from slavery, for an independent Albania.

"Private property as well as private initiative in industry and economy remain untouched.

"No radical changes are made in the social organization, customs, etc., or in the organization of labor. . . ."

Such attempts to deny the Communist control and aims of the NLM became increasingly necessary as the pitch of internecine war heightened. Abas Kupa, who had been an architect and strong advocate of the Mukaj agreement unifying all resistance forces, was profoundly disillusioned by the Communist abrogation of it. In his native northern mountains he sounded out those clan chieftains most responsive to the hope of a Monarchist government, and at the end of 1943 formed the Legaliteti Party. He offered an alliance with the NLM; it was refused. Abas Kupa, too, was branded a traitor in the official NLM line.

By the winter of 1943-4 several British missions had been parachuted into Albania to determine which of the various resistance groups was most effectively and tenaciously fighting the Germans, and therefore most deserving of Allied supplies, and to attempt to unify the resistance elements into one fighting force.⁸ Their hopes for unity were destroyed by the intransigence of the NLM. Amery reports Abas Kupa's stand in the following words:

"I [Amery] urged various arguments upon him [Kupa] in favor of the reconciliation [with the NLM], but though he agreed to its advantages he doubted whether it was any longer possible.

"If you will impose friendship between us," he said, "I shall be glad. But I know these men, and *Wallah!*, they will not have it."⁹

As a gesture of good faith to earn Allied supplies and support, Kupa, persuaded by Amery, launched his ill-armed men at the Germans in the summer of 1944. This did the Germans no harm, but aroused the NLM; they feared a Legaliteti movement armed and recognized by the

7. *loc. cit.*

8. A partial record of these missions may be found in books by two of the participants: Amery's *Sons of the Eagle*, and *Illyrian Venture: The Story of the British Mission to Enemy Occupied Albania, 1943-44*, Brigadier Davies; London: The Bodley Head, 1952.

9. *Sons of the Eagle*, p. 99.

Allies. A strong force led by Mehmet Shehu crossed the Shkumbini River, drove north, and destroyed Kupa's forces. Kupa himself and a few followers escaped by small boat to Italy.

Triumph

By May 1944 the NLM forces had fully recovered from the blows of the German occupation, and that occupation was beginning to ebb away as German troops moved to the defense of the dying fatherland. The NLM controlled an area containing 400,000 people; only the cities were still under occupation. Victory was sufficiently visible so that on May 24, at Permet, the NLM held a Congress to form a provisional government. Present were English and American observers and, of course, a Yugoslav Communist deputation.

The 200 delegates of the Congress, Communists and Communist sympathizers, elected an Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation as "supreme legislative and executive organ" for the nation, and empowered the Council to select a Committee to function as executive. Omer Nishani headed the Council, Enver Hoxha the Committee (which was identical in personnel to the CC of the NLM). The German-supported puppet government was, of course, pending the ultimate German withdrawal, still extant; the Permet Congress was simply Communist political foresight. No postwar power vacuum would be permitted to exist for lack of a suitably named and camouflaged apparatus.

The Congress forbade King Zog reentry into the country, stating that the "question of a regime will be settled by the free will of the people, which is represented only in the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation."¹⁰ The Congress also introduced formal rank into the NLM army, and established commissions to investigate and condemn "collaborators."

The Anti-Fascist Council reconvened on October 20, 1944, at Berat. Here was planned the final push against the diminishing German forces. In June the Germans had attempted a big push against the Partisans; it had failed, and now operations moved northward as German troops pulled out. Certain Partisan units crossed the Yugoslav border in the fighting.¹¹

It was still necessary to mask the Communist implications behind the facade of Council and Movement. At the Congress of Permet, Hoxha had described as a product from "Dr. Goebbels' kitchen" the charge that he and his associates were aiming at the Communization of the country. At the Berat Congress he reiterated the Labinot declaration that the "democratic authority" would defend all the "democratic rights of the citizens, as well as their beliefs and private property."

The time demanding such pretense was growing short. On November 29, 1944, NLM forces took Tirana, and the Communists were the masters of Albania.

10. *Rapport au Ier Congres*, p. 86.

11. In these final days of struggle Lazar Fundo, early Communist leader and later apostate, was beaten to death by the Communists. See *Sons of the Eagle*, p. 309.



Enver Hoxha making a speech on the occasion of the Communist victory. Private photograph.

Power and Purge

It is not the purpose of this article to trace the creation of a Communist government in Albania. The familiar paths were followed: expropriation, collectivization, repression (see *A Chronology of Events in Albania, 1944-52*; New York: Free Europe Press, 1955). In this work, the Party was always in the forefront. Its membership grew rapidly. From 2,800 in November 1944, there were, by November 1948, 29,137 regular and 16,245 candidate members.

Elections were held in standard Communist style: only Communist-approved candidates ran, only Communist-approved candidates won. As a matter of fact, in the first general elections, December 1945, three candidates not on the Party-drawn lists dared to present themselves. One, Hasan Reci, a Party member, was executed; Jani Kononi and Koco Dilo were jailed.

On November 8, 1948, the First Party Congress was held. It was the usual sounding-board and rubber stamp, but the moment was unusually important. Less than five months previously, on June 28, the Yugoslav Communist Party had been expelled from the Cominform.

The Albanian Party had been far closer to the Yugoslav Communists than to the Soviet Party. The entire leadership owed its position to the Yugoslavs, to Tito. If the Albanian Party leaders were to escape the charges being



Le boulevard Staline, à Tirana

Stalin Boulevard in Tirana.

L'Albanie Nouvelle (Tirana), May 1954

blasted at Tito, quick and drastic steps were necessary. Enver Hoxha seized this opportunity to combine propitiation of the Kremlin with the removal of his nearest rival for power, Koci Xoxe.

The Albanian reaction to the expulsion had been immediate. On July 1, a CC Plenum published a resolution proclaiming solidarity with the Cominform resolution, denouncing the Yugoslav leaders as traitors and Trotskyites, declaring that the CC of the Albanian Party had always been in conflict with its Yugoslav counterpart, and offering the solidarity and gratitude of the CPA toward the USSR.

On July 8 and 24, and again on August 17, Koci Xoxe, Deputy Premier and Minister of Internal Affairs, Central Committee member, second only to Hoxha in Party and government, spoke in denunciation of the Yugoslavs. On October 3, a new government was approved by the People's Assembly. It involved a few changes, including the replacement of Tuk Jakova by Koci Xoxe as Minister of Industry.

Then, on October 31, the new government was revised. Xoxe was suspended as Deputy Premier and as Minister of Industry. Also suspended were Pandi Kristo, Chairman of the State Control Commission, and Nesti Kerenxhi, Xoxe's replacement as Internal Affairs Minister. Mehmet Shehu, head of the Army General Staff, was made Minister of Internal Affairs.

It is impossible to know just what processes and pressures within the top Party leadership prefaced the selection of Xoxe as major scapegoat. He had been no more and no less involved with the Yugoslavs than Hoxha, Shehu or the rest of the leadership. We can only assume that Hoxha found the opportunity convenient, and that in the alignment of power he found it necessary to obtain the support of Shehu, representing the Army.

In September, to emphasize the break with the Yugoslav-dominated past, the Albanian Communist Party changed its name to the Albanian Workers' Party. The First Congress, shortly thereafter, echoed with denuncia-

tions of Tito and of Xoxe. Tuk Jakova, the presiding officer, said:

"Our Party successfully concluded the war; now, with the help of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies we are in the phase of reconstruction. We have done well, but could have done more had we not been hampered by the anti-Albanian, anti-Marxist element of Yugoslav Trotskyism, directed by Tito, and those connected with him in our Party, a group led by Koci Xoxe. The dangers created by these elements were overcome by Hoxha, with the help of the Soviet Communist Party."¹²

Such Albanian denunciations of the scapegoat and eulogies of the leader who had retained footing were not distinguishable from the same melody with the same words being repeated in every Satellite. What distinguished the Albanian case was the unique relationship of the CPA to the Yugoslav Party. As the Soviet Party was to the Parties of all other Satellites and Yugoslavia, so was the Yugoslav Party to the Albanian. Mugosa, Popovic, Vukmanovic-Tempo—without these and other emissaries of Tito the Albanian Communists would not have been masters of their country.

Nevertheless, the rapidity and facility with which the Albanians turned on Tito is not really an occasion for a sermon on human perfidy. Just as Yugoslavia revolted against the USSR's attempts to impose Soviet nationalism in the name of international Communism, the Albanians had suffered from Yugoslav nationalism disguised in Communist doctrine. The Yugoslav abrogation of the 1943 Mukaj agreement was the most striking display of this; it was not unique. Until the 1948 break Albanian policy was thoroughly controlled by Belgrade, Albania was a member neither of the Comintern nor the Cominform; orders came through Belgrade. Indeed, in the years immediately preceding the break, there was some discussion, led by Bel-

12. *Bashkimi* (Tirana), November 8, 1948.

grade, unwillingly but necessarily followed by Tirana, on the possible incorporation of Albania into the federal structure of Yugoslavia. Furthermore, ideological and political compulsions aside, Albania was (and is) incapable of independent economic existence. Yugoslav aid was generously given, thus increasing Yugoslav control; that resentment rather than gratitude followed this aid is not surprising.

The Tito-Soviet break was thus, in many regards, an opportunity for the Albanian Party to escape the crushing embrace of the Yugoslavs. In so doing, Albania did not increase in the slightest degree its national self-determination; direct Soviet control was substituted for that of Belgrade. Nevertheless, Moscow was a long way off on the map; the USSR held no Albanian-populated Kosovo, threatened no legal absorption of Albania. The control, no less real, was markedly less exacerbating.

There have been speculations on the possibility that Albania might have been sucked out of the Moscow orbit in Yugoslavia's wake. Such speculation is not fruitful; too much information is lacking. As indicated, it appears that the severance of Belgrade's control was to Albania's advantage, real or fancied. Yugoslavia might have made offers to offset that advantage. Whether such offers were made is not known.

Koci Xoxe was arrested on November 9, 1948, "prepared" for trial until May 12, 1949, tried, sentenced to death on June 11, hanged the same day. The "preparation," although extended, was effective; Xoxe confessed all imputed sins. With him were tried "four collaborators"; they were sentenced to life imprisonment. The four were never named; one of them was probably Pandi Kristo. The trial had no dramatic surprises.

Xoxe was by no means the first of the war-time Partisan leaders to fall in the days of peace. In March, 1946, Ymer Dishnica, signer of the Mukaj pact, was condemned by a secret Party tribunal, removed from his post as Minister of Public Health and the Party, and flung into private oblivion. He was not killed; when last heard of he was practicing medicine in Tirana. Presumably the presence in the government of a Mukaj pact signer was embarrassing; presumably the Yugoslavs pointed this out.

Another early Communist leader, Sejfulla Maleshova, was not removed from prominence and the Party until June, 1948. Among the accusations against him was that he "wanted to liquidate our Party by advocating the creation of Social-Democratic parties; he wanted to divide power with the bourgeoisie." It is indeed possible that Maleshova had advocated some diminution of centralized Party control. It is equally possible that the charges were pure fabrication, an occasion for the removal of another "old Bolshevik."

Albania's uniquely isolated position after 1948, geographically cut off from the Soviet bloc, doubtless increased the insecurity of the Party leaders, insecurity that only purges could assuage. In 1950, another batch of ostensible Titoists was removed. Among those hung were Abedin Shehu, Minister of Public works and CC member, CC members Njiazzi Islami and Shyqri Kellezi. The charge was "attempting to separate Albania from the Soviet Union and bring it under the influence of Belgrade."



Caption: "... more culture for the people." Enver Hoxha.
Arti Ne Republiken Popullore Te Shqiperise (Berlin), 1953.

In the Spring of 1951, the Soviet legation in Tirana was bombed. In the subsequent investigations, led by Mehmet Shehu, many Party people were killed. The man probably responsible for the bombing (although the whole affair is most mysterious), was Sali Ormani, CC member and Shehu's subordinate at the Internal Affairs Ministry. There was no trial of Ormani; he was reportedly found dead near Elbasan a few days after the bombing. It was stated that he had killed himself after realizing the impossibility of escape. Beqir Ndou, member of the CC and the Presidium of the People's Assembly, was also purged, although no details are known.

In 1952 the Army was cleaned up. General Nexhip Vincani, Chief of Staff and CC member, was removed from office and subsequently vanished. He had been charged with being a friend of Koci Xoxe, and with harboring petty bourgeois sentiments. Others of the military were forced to indulge in self-inculpation and repentance.

On March 31, 1952, the Second Party Congress convened. On this occasion Hoxha gave the following figures on the reduction of Party membership since the Yugoslav break: 5,996 members or candidate members were dismissed or resigned; of these 2,875 were "people's enemies," 2,338 were "disloyal to the Party," and 783 "deserted." At

the Second Congress, the Party had 44,418 full and candidate members, or 964 fewer than at the First Congress; however, there were 798 more full members at the later date. Hoxha stated that the greatest reduction of Party ranks came in 1949, following the failure of the plans of the "Judas" Tito and his "agent" Koci Xoxe. (The most recent available figure on Party membership, from *Zeri i Popullit* [Tirana], March 24, 1954, is 43,000 members and candidate members. Whether the continued membership reduction has been that drastic, or whether this is another example of the familiar unreliability of Albanian Communist statistics, cannot be said.)

The Congress was presented with reports on the economic accomplishments and failures of the regime; for all accomplishments, the Albanian Party and the USSR were given credit, for all failures Tito and his "agents" were blamed. Hoxha made maximum use of the Yugoslav-Soviet break.

The latest convulsion in the Party occurred after the death of Stalin, when, as elsewhere in the area, the new policy of collective leadership dictated a formal separation of government and Party functions. In July, 1954, Enver Hoxha, who had been head of both Party and government, retired (nominally) from the latter post. Mehmet Shehu, the policeman, became Premier in his place. There has been gossip that this shift was forced upon Hoxha by Shehu as a phase in the long-rumored power struggle between them.

Following the Bulganin-Khrushchev visit to Belgrade in May 1955 and the Soviet rapprochement with Tito, the Albanian Party docilely abandoned the shrill anti-Yugoslav line it had followed for seven years. *Pravda* (Moscow), July 5, carried an article by Enver Hoxha which stated:

"Misunderstandings may arise among brothers, but sooner or later they find each other again. In past years

such a misfortune—a quarrel—arose between the countries of Socialism and their Yugoslav brothers. But such a situation was bound to come to an end, and this happened as a result of the Soviet-Yugoslav negotiations."

On September 26, Hoxha, in a speech to the Albanian Democratic Front, reminisced about the war-time comradeship of the Yugoslav and Albanian Parties, and blamed "the imperialist agents and enemies of Socialism, Beria and Abakumov" for the "unpleasant occurrences" of the break. There has been no mention of Koci Xoxe or any of the other Albanian Communists destroyed for the sins of "Titoism."

Conclusion

The history of the Albanian Communist Party exhibits to an exaggerated degree all the characteristics which have marked the Communization of Eastern Europe. A tiny, well-organized Party, controlled from outside, took every advantage of the chaos of war to assure that peace would find no organized opposition. For much of its history the Albanian Party was a satellite of a satellite, standing to the Yugoslav Party as the Yugoslav Party stood to the Soviet. With the crisis of the Yugoslav-Soviet break, Albania followed without hesitation its primary loyalty, the Soviet Union. Now Albanian leaders unblushingly repudiate their previous repudiation.

The imposition of Communism on backward, pre-industrialized Albania has caused the people severe economic hardships. Communist dogma demanded industrialization; Albania attempted to follow the dogma, and hunger followed the attempt. In Albania, perhaps more than anywhere else, the imposition of Communism has meant a gulf between dogma and reality that is both unbridgeable, and tragic.

Party Premiums

The following joke is current in Budapest:

Because the Communist Party is having great difficulties in recruiting new members, the following premiums have been announced: Those who succeed in recruiting one new member will be excused from attending Party meetings; those who recruit two new members will be permitted to resign from the Party; those who recruit three new members will be given a certificate stating that they never belonged to the Party; those who recruit four new members will have their Arrow Cross [prewar Fascist organization] membership cards returned to them.

A Poem for Adults

by Adam Wazyk

1.

WHEN, by error, I jumped on a wrong bus
people in it, as usual, were returning from work.
The bus rushed down an unknown street,
O Holy Cross Street, no longer Holy Cross,
where are your antique shops, book-
stores, students?
Where are you, the dead?
The memory of you peters out.
Then the bus stopped
on a dug-up square.
Old skeleton of a four-storey house
anticipated the verdict of fate.
I got off in the square
in a working district,
where grey walls become silver,
reminiscing.
People were hurrying home
and I did not dare ask them the way.
In my childhood, had I not come to this
house?
I returned like a man
who had gone for medicine
and come home twenty years later.
My wife asked me where I'd been.
My children asked me where I'd been.
I said nothing and sweated like a mouse.

2.

Squares turn like cobras,
houses stand like peacocks,
give me any old stone
and I'll be back in my city.
Standing, a thoughtless pillar,
under the candelabrum,
I praise, admire and curse
on abra- and abracadabra.
Heroically, I venture
under the splendid columns
and pay no heed to the puppets
of Gallux,* painted for coffins.
Here youngsters come for ice cream!
All of them are young and yet
their memories reach the ruins;
girls will soon have babies.
What's in the stone endures,
pathos and rubbish together,
here, future poets of Warsaw,
you'll learn your A's B's and C's.
Love all this most naturally,
I loved, I loved other stones,

* Department store in which so-called luxury articles are sold.

grey and really magnificent,
sounding of reminiscence.
Squares turn like cobras,
houses stand like peacocks,
give me any old stone
and I'll be back in my city.

3.

"Today our sky is not empty."
(from a political speech)
It was dawn and at dawn I heard the
the sound of jets,
very expensive, no doubt, expensive, but
still we must. . . .
When we don't want to speak about our
earth simply,
we say, then we say: our sky's not empty.
People walk here anyhow and dress in
denim,
women grow old here early, very
early. . . .
When we don't want to speak about our
earth simply,
we say, then we say: our sky's not empty.
Beyond the ocean an apocalypse curls in
clouds
and here a passerby, a passerby kneels
down. . . .
When we don't want to speak about the
earth simply,
the kneeling man says: the sky's not
empty.
Here a legion of boys lets out a cloud of
pigeons
and a girl is tying a sky-blue kerchief. . . .
When we don't want to speak about the
earth simply,
we say, then we say: the sky's not empty.

4.

From villages and little towns they come
in carts
to build a foundry and dream out a city,
dig out of the earth a new Eldorado.
with an army of pioneers, a gathered
crowd,
they jam in barns, barracks and hostels,
walk heavily and whistle loudly in the
muddy streets:
the great migration, the twisted ambition,
with a string on their necks—the
Czestochowa cross,
three floors of swear-words, a feather
pillow,
a gallon of vodka and the lust for girls.
Distrustful soul, torn out of the village
soil,

half-awakened and already half-mad,
in words silent, but singing, singing songs,
the huge mob, pushed suddenly
out of medieval darkness: un-human Po-
land,
howling with boredom on December
nights. . . .

In garbage baskets and on hanging ropes
boys fly like cats on night walls,
girls' hostels, the secular nunneries,
burst with rutting—and then the
"Duchesses"
ditch the foetus—the Vistula flows
here. . . .
The great migration building industry,
unknown to Poland, but known to history,
fed with big empty words, and living
wildly from day to day despite the
preachers,
in coal gas and in slow, continuous
suffering
the working class is shaped out of it.
There is a lot of refuse. So far there are
grits.

5.

This also happens: a brown cloud of
smoke
rises above the mine that's been set afire,
the shaft's been cut off, the subterranean
suffering
never will be told, the dark shaft now a
coffin,
the saboteur has blood and bones and
hands,
one hundred families cry, two hundred,
they write in papers or they do not write,
and only broken smoke stays in the air.

6.

At a railway station
Miss Jadzia's at the counter
she's so nice when she yawns
she's so nice when she pours. . . .
ATTENTION! THE ENEMY PLIES YOU WITH
VODKA
You'll be poisoned here for sure
Miss Jadzia'll pull off your boots
she's so nice when she yawns
she's so nice when she pours. . . .
ATTENTION! THE ENEMY PLIES YOU WITH
VODKA
Do not go, my boy, to Nowa Huta
or you'll be poisoned on the way,
take warning from the treacherous poster
and the national fish in your stomach. . . .
ATTENTION! THE ENEMY PLIES YOU WITH
VODKA

7.

I'll not believe, my friend, that lions are calves,
I'll not believe, my friend, that calves are lions,
I'll not believe, my friend, in magic curses
or in reasons kept under glass,
but I believe that the table has four legs,
but I believe that the fifth leg is a chimera,
and when chimeras come together, my friend,
one dies slowly of heart disease.

8.

It's true,
when the brass trumpets of boredom
jam the great educational aim,
when vultures of abstraction eat out of our brains,
when students are shut off in textbooks
without windows,
when our language is reduced to thirty magic formulas,
when the lamp of imagination dies out,
when the good people from the moon
refuse us the right to have taste,
it's true,
then we are in danger of becoming
ignorant and dull.

9.

They fished the drowned man out of the Vistula.
They found a piece of paper in his pocket:
"My sleeve is right,
my button is wrong,
my collar is wrong,
but my strap is right".
They buried him under a willow tree.

10.

In a freshly plastered street of new buildings
lime dust circles and a cloud rushes
through the sky.
Pulverizers, rolling in the street, press the surface,
transplanted chestnut-trees bloom and sing in twilight.
Little and big children scatter under the chestnut-trees,
dragging wood for fuel from half-pulled-down scaffolds.
The staircase is full of names, melodious, feminine names,
fifteen-year old whores walk down the planks to the basement,
their smiles seem made of lime, they smell of lime,
in the neighborhood the radio plays darkly for magical dances,
the night comes, hooligans play hooligans.

Adam Wazyk

ADAM WAZYK was born in Warsaw in 1905. In the prewar years he published several volumes of poetry, *Semaphores*, 1924; *The Eyes and the Mouth*, 1926; *Collected Poems*, 1934; and several novels. During World War II he lived in the Soviet Union, where in 1943 he published a volume of poetry called *The Heart of the Grenade*. From 1942-1945 he was in the Polish Army and was one of the co-founders there of the weekly *Kuznica* (The Smithy). From 1950-1954 he was editor-in-chief of the major Polish literary magazine *Twórczość*, from which position he was recently removed. His translations from the Russian and the French (he is the translator of Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* and the works of Rimbaud and Apollinaire) received a PEN club prize and in 1953, he also received a State Literary Award for his translations and poetry.

After the war he published *Collected Poems*, 1947; *The Poet's Portfolio*, 1950; *New Selected Poems*, 1950; *I Saw the Country of the Center*, 1953; and other volumes. He has also been an active critic and, among other things, has published a collection of critical essays called *In the Direction of Humanism*, 1949; and *Mickiewicz and Polish Verse*, 1942.



How difficult
it is to sleep in childhood among the
singing chestnut trees. . . .
Disappear into darkness, dissonances! I
wanted so much to be glad
of novelty, tell you about the young street,
but not this one!
Was I deprived of the gift to see, or the
gift of convenient blindness?
All I have is a short note, the poems of a
new sorrow.

11.

Speculators took her to a quiet hell
in an isolated villa—she escaped.
She wandered drunk all night,
slept on cement till light.
They threw her out of art school
for lack of socialist morality.
She poisoned herself once—they saved her.
She poisoned herself again—they buried her.

12.

All this is not new. Old is the Cerberus
of socialist morality.
Fourier, the dreamer, charmingly fore-
told
that lemonade would flow in seas.
Does it not flow?
They drink sea-water,
crying:

"lemonade!"
returning home secretly
to vomit.

13.

They came and said:
"a Communist does not die."
No man has lived forever.
Only the memory of him is to remain.
The more valuable the man,
the greater the pain.
They came and cried:
under socialism
a hurt finger does not hurt.
They hurt their fingers.
They felt the pain.
They began to doubt.

14.

They shouted at the ritualists,
they instructed,
enlightened and
shamed the ritualists.
They sought the aid of literature,
that five-year-old youngster,
which should be educated
and which should educate.
Is a ritualist an enemy?
A ritualist is not an enemy,
a ritualist must be instructed,
he must be enlightened,
he must be shamed,

he must be convinced.
 We must educate.
 They have changed people into preachers.
 I have heard a wise lecture:
 "Without properly distributed
 economic incentives
 we'll not make technical progress."
 These are the words of a Marxist.
 This is the knowledge of real laws,
 the end of utopia.
 There will be no novels about ritualists,
 but there will be novels about the
 troubles of inventors,
 about anxieties which move all of us.
 This is my naked poem
 before it matures
 into troubles, colors and odors of the
 earth.

15.

There are people tired of work,
 there are people from Nowa Huta

who have never been in a theater,
 there are Polish apples unobtainable by
 Polish children,
 there are children scorned by criminal
 doctors,
 there are boys forced to lie,
 there are girls forced to lie,
 there are old wives thrown out of homes
 by their husbands,
 there are exhausted people, suffering from
 angina pectoris,
 there are people who are blackened and
 spat at,
 there are people who are robbed in the
 streets
 by thugs for whom legal definitions are
 sought,
 there are people waiting for papers,
 there are people waiting for justice,
 there are people who have been waiting
 for a long time.
 On this earth we appeal on behalf of

people
 who are exhausted from work,
 we appeal for locks that fit the door,
 for rooms with windows,
 for walls which do not rot,
 for contempt for papers,
 for a holy human time,
 for a safe return home,
 for a simple distinction between words
 and deeds.
 We appeal for this on the earth,
 for which we did not gamble with dice,
 for which a million people died in battles,
 we appeal for bright truth and the corn
 of freedom,
 for a flaming reason,
 for a flaming reason,
 we appeal daily,
 we appeal through our Party.

Nowa Kultura (Warsaw),

August 21, 1955.

Party Attacks Wazyk's Poem

WHY DID *A Poem for Adults* create such a sensation in Poland? The question cannot be fully answered merely by stating that a Communist poet has written a verse critical of the Communist reality around him. In spite of the narrow margin of freedom in Communist-dominated countries, some critical prose and poetry has appeared. The significance of the Wazyk poem lies in its tone, its perceptiveness, and the degree of condemnation in it. With its intensity of despair, disgust and rebellion, the poem is the most sincere, bitter and spontaneous cry of man's disillusionment with Communism that has so far appeared behind the Iron Curtain. That this cry was written by a Communist poet only adds to its irony and drama.

Wazyk not only refuses to accept present day Polish reality as he sees it, but he condemns it. He cannot, as the Party would have him do, project into a misty future, because today is drab, hateful and without hope or promise. He commits the sin of escaping into the past, that same past which Communist propaganda has for the past ten years condemned to perdition. However evil the past may have been, Wazyk says, he prefers it to the present and even to the Communist version of the future. He can no longer reconcile that promise-dream with the picture of "fifteen-year old whores whose smiles seem made of lime," or the image of the man who has lost his mind, because he no longer is permitted to use it, or the women who grow old too early.

Wazyk sees all this and more, and he does not treat these things gingerly. His bitterness and disillusionment take him across the border of caution, and out of his anger and despair, he makes a truly meaningful arraignment of that system for which he had once declared himself.

WAZYK'S *A Poem for Adults* did not have to wait for attack: *Trybuna Wolnosci*, organ of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, and *Poprostu*, the cultural weekly of the Polish Communist Youth League (ZMP) attacked the poem and Wazyk in their respective issues of September 21-27 and September 4.

"How does it happen that a Party poet in our country writes about our life a poem full of bitter disillusionment, if not of outright contempt. Wazyk weights the lying phraseology, the ideological emptiness and hypocrisy, the empty declamation and cold dogmas, which in reality is emptiness of heart and mind. These things are known and we do not hide them, nor seek to hide them. . . .

"Wazyk indulges in a cold passion of generalization in such a way that he could expose himself to the accusation of irresponsibility in matters of much less importance. This poem is a bad and cruel half-truth. . . .

Poprostu was even more bitter and its article was titled "On the Gift of Convenient Blindness—in Prose." It wrote:

"What Wazyk said is true about 'The big migration building industry.' It does not consist of angels who will be taken alive to the Communist heaven. The life of the people is often difficult, dirty, tragic and boring. This is true of what Wazyk said of the nights of girls in the working hostels, 'those temporary nunneries,' about what he said of the emptiness of big phrases, of lies, routine thinking, about bandits who are tried for 'bikinis,' about people who wait too long for justice. All this is. But despite it, I think that *A Poem for Adults* is wrong from beginning to end. . . .

"I think that the poet who has lived ten years in Poland and writes poetry in Poland should not be allowed to 'go out for a walk and return' as a man who went out to bring medicine and returned after twenty years to cry with bewilderment: 'Oh, oh, how many bad things, how much evil!' . . ."

Eyewitness Report....

This section presents current information on conditions behind the Iron Curtain from refugees interviewed by Radio Free Europe reporters.

THE FOLLOWING account of the release of foreign prisoners from Soviet labor camps is based on the personal experience and observations of a Hungarian-born German citizen repatriated to Germany in October after having been held as a prisoner of war in the Soviet Union for ten years.

Preparations for returning foreign nationals apparently began at the Vorkuta camp at the end of 1954, when the Yugoslavs were repatriated and all other foreign prisoners transferred to the camp at Potma some 350 km. from Moscow. The transfer was completed by May 1955. Soviet citizens and foreign nationals who were ill and could not be transported at that time joined their fellow prisoners in Potma at the beginning of September 1955. They reported that the Vorkuta camp is being completely liquidated. At that time, some of the Soviet prisoners were released in accordance with the [September] Amnesty Decree. Those Soviet prisoners who do not benefit from the amnesty will be put into regular prisons.

As of April 1955, 1200 foreign prisoners had arrived at Potma from the camps at Vorkuta, Abis and Inta (all three in the far North). The return of the prisoners to their home countries was started in April with the repatriation of the Austrians. The remaining prisoners were released in the following order: Finns, Bulgarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Romanians, French, Belgians, Dutch and Italians. By the end of August 1955, only Germans and Hungarians were left, together with those prisoners of war whom Soviet authorities declared to be stateless. (The last category includes ethnic Hungarian prisoners who became Czechoslovak, Romanian and Yugoslav citizens after the territorial changes in 1945).

In September, when the German prisoners departed, it was believed that the Hungarian prisoners would be sent home during the autumn in accordance with an [unofficial] agreement made with the Budapest regime. Half these prisoners were affected by the Soviet amnesty; the other half are to be turned over to the Hungarian law after their arrival in Hungary.

According to this report, only a minority of Hungarians being returned home are prisoners of war or "war criminals." The majority are so-called political criminals who were imprisoned by the Hungarian authorities up to 1949 without legal proceedings and deported to the Soviet Union as "persons endangering the Hungarian political system." A number of these Hungarians are believed to be persons who disappeared between 1945 and 1949 in connection with "conspiracy" and "treason" cases such as the Mindszenty trial.

Another unofficial source reported that a transport of 80 Czechoslovak, Polish and Hungarian prisoners from the Soviet Union and a group of Sudeten Germans arrived on

the night of September 24 at the Carpatho-Ukrainian-Hungarian border and were sent from there on the following day to their countries of origin. Of this group, 56 had come from the forced labor camp near Potma. Only a few of them had served even a sizable part of their full sentence, and all seemed to have been released as the result of a general Soviet action which the ex-prisoners themselves described as an "amnesty." The remaining 24 prisoners were kept separate from the others. They had not been "amnestied" but were proceeding under guard to their home countries where they were to be handed over to their own authorities.

On October 31, Radio Warsaw reported that "among the 1000 persons who have returned to Poland in the last two months, there is a number of repatriates from the Soviet Union . . . and more are expected." Repatriation centers have been set up along both the western and eastern frontiers of Poland.

Information gained from many returned German prisoners of war indicates to Western observers that groups of Czechoslovak, Polish, Hungarian and Romanian prisoners are thus being collected at various transit points in the USSR for return to their countries of origin. The Soviet government appears to be releasing prisoners by national groups. There has been no official announcement of a general Soviet amnesty for foreigners or of the policy being followed in this large-scale release of prisoners and liquidation of penal camps.

■ ■ ■
APARTMENT HOUSE superintendents in Communist Hungary play an important role controlling individual citizens, according to many refugee reports. In addition to the usual janitor duties, the superintendent collects the rent for the landlord (usually the State) and keeps a registry book with a complete list of tenants and their arrivals and departures, absences, visitors, etc. for the police.

The superintendent works hand in hand with the political trustee of the apartment house, who is picked by the Party from among the tenants. He in turn is directly responsible to a block trustee who is in charge of a residential unit usually composed of up to twenty apartment houses.

Many large apartment houses have a wall newspaper, compiled by the janitor and the political trustees, primarily dedicated to announcements of Party and tenants' meetings. At the tenants' meetings, normally held by the political trustee every four weeks, the needs of the house, subscriptions to the Peace Loan, preparations for Communist celebrations, etc. are discussed. In principle every tenant is obliged to attend, but this is not strictly enforced. Recently it was reported that the control of tenants exercised by janitor and trustee has been somewhat relaxed, with an improvement in the service in apartment houses.

A FAVORITE theme of Communist propagandists in the Bulgarian Army is the poverty, unemployment and general misery alleged to be prevalent in non-Communist Greece. After listening to this story daily for three years, a 23 year-old Bulgarian Army corporal who recently escaped to Greece was amazed at the excellent quality of the food enjoyed by the Greek soldiers of the frontier unit, whose guest he was for a few days after he crossed the border. His comment was: "Why, not even our officers get food like this, let alone the ranks!"

This first impression of life in a free country was further enhanced during the next few weeks, as he observed and compared conditions in the towns and villages of Greece with those in his own country, where he did not recall ever having had a really satisfying meal. "We eat so well at the refugee center," he told a Western reporter, "that I hate to leave."

The standard of living of Bulgarian Army officers is considerably higher than that of the average civilian at home, the escapee said. Considering his earlier comment on the quality of the officers' diet, the remark indicates the low level of the general living standard in Communist Bulgaria.

Describing life in the Bulgarian Army, the refugee said that, like the uniforms the soldiers wear, discipline in the army is "ragged." Though the officers try to inculcate a smart *esprit de corps* among the troops, the men's lack of enthusiasm for the regime they serve keeps morale low. And nothing, he said, is more damaging to morale than the overt favoritism shown toward those of the soldiers who are Communist Party members.

Communist soldiers thumb their noses at disciplinary measures, and are even immune to court-martial decisions. According to the refugee, one such man serving in his unit was charged with leaving his post while on sentry duty. To impress upon the other rookies the seriousness of this offense and to give them a lesson in military discipline, the entire battalion was made to attend the soldier's court-martial. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Less than a month later he was back with his unit.

The Communist enlisted men are in cahoots with the *politruks* (political officers) and act as informers for them. Though many of them are known to their comrades, who are thus able to guard their speech and actions, no one can be sure that a soldier professing to be a non-Communist is not a plant. Discretion, therefore, is strictly observed among the troops at all times.

THE "VOLUNTARY" nature of the mass subscriptions to the "Peace Loans" periodically launched by the regime was sardonically described by a worker formerly employed in the Mosonszentjanos Hog-Fattening Enterprise in Hungary. Returning to work from vacation, the worker discovered that during his absence a Peace Loan collection had been taken up and his name had been signed by a trade union functionary to a pledge of 100 *forints*. The outraged worker protested to the factory manager, who tried to soothe him with a dissertation on the duties of every loyal compatriot. The worker saw that he would get no help from this quarter and decided to take the matter

in hand himself. He sought out the trade union functionary who had forged his name to the list and demanded an explanation from him. The functionary warned him sharply that if he made a nuisance of himself he would be denounced as a person opposing the Peace Loan and inciting against "democracy." The worker realized that the only wise course was retreat. [The loan this year was "oversubscribed" by 26 percent.]

THE EVACUATION of Soviet troops from Austria was a great blow to the flourishing black market in Budapest, according to a refugee who fled from Hungary in the summer of 1955. It put an end to the black market "deals" which were made with the Russian soldiers who passed through Budapest from Austria on their way to home leave in the Soviet Union. With the conclusion of the Austrian State Treaty, Western goods such as nylon stockings, cocoa, chocolate, wrist watches, etc. will become great rarities and their black market prices will rise considerably.

The refugee said that the traffic in smuggled goods brought to Budapest by the Russian soldiers was "an easy if risky way for a number of people to earn money" and that he himself had engaged in this trade for nearly four years. "I was unable to live on my earnings, and therefore I did not bother much about the question of whether it was right or wrong: by black marketeering, although I only occupied myself with it in my spare time, I earned much more than I could in my own legal work."

The neighborhood of the Keleti railway station was known as the "paradise of the black marketeers": they virtually swarmed over the place when the leave-trains came in. The station itself was not the place to make the deals, since there were many detectives around. The Russians themselves did not approach Hungarian civilians because they feared the military patrols. The best system was to accost the Russians when they left the station.

Operating with a partner, one black marketeer would open negotiations with the Russian soldier. At the go-ahead sign, the partner would jump into a taxi and pick them up in a matter of seconds. The driver would be told to drive around the town to show "our Soviet friend" the sights. Business would then be transacted inside the cab. The refugee asserted that there was no need for much bargaining, since the Russian soldiers were told by their more experienced fellows in Vienna what goods were wanted in Budapest and what the going prices were, and "one could not swindle them."

The refugee explained that Budapest black marketeers never peddled the goods but turned them over to "reliable addresses" where they were paid in cash. The peddling of black market goods would have been too dangerous as they might have been caught by an agent provocateur from the police and sentenced to several years' imprisonment.

The Soviet soldiers, who knew that the money they obtained for the smuggled goods could not be taken out of the country, usually disposed of it on the spot in bars and night clubs recommended to them by the black marketeer, who also received a commission for this service.

MANY OF THE industrial workers in Hungary who were drawn to the cities during the pre-New Course years and dismissed from their jobs in the recent rationalization drive in industry were directed by the regime to settle in the rural districts and form collective farms on State reserve lands. These workers are scornfully called "Landless Johns" by the local peasants, according to a refugee from the county of Szabolcs-Szatmar. The refugee described how the district council in Szabolcs-Szatmar gave these newcomers free accommodation in the houses of farmers who were qualified as "kulaks," and provided them with sums of 4-500 *forints* from the local land-revenue funds. During the course of the winter, they were allocated land from the State reserve and instructed to set up agricultural collectives.

The refugee cited the experience of the village of Buj, where four workers from Csepel appeared in the autumn of 1954. The local regime agents placed them in the local "April Fourth" farmers' collective, thus forestalling the liquidation of this kolkhoz. Another group of eight workers from Csepel arrived in the village in the spring of 1955. They were given 140 acres of reserve land and made to establish a second collective in the village.

The peasants give a hostile reception to the "Landless Johns," the refugee asserted. In the village of Ibrany, for example, two workers were literally chased out of the town. Some workers transferred to the county tried to agitate against independent farmers, whereupon the village police beat them.

A similar situation has been reported from Bulgaria, where the regime issued a decree early in 1955 ordering surplus industrial workers to return to the countryside. The workers were so reluctant that many reportedly stayed on at the factories in defiance of the order, which gave the foremen unlimited power to exploit them, since any protest would be met by instant deportation to the rural districts.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES have been a curriculum requirement at Polish universities since 1949, according to a Doctor of Philology who taught English and German at Wroclaw University until her repatriation to Germany in 1955. She was a member of the Pharmaceutical Faculty of the Wroclaw Medical Academy, where in addition she gave private language lessons to professors, physicians and assistants of the Faculty.

For the 12,000 students, proficiency in Russian and one Western language was required. The same requirement was made of the faculty. However, while this principle was strictly enforced in the case of students and assistants, the professors were not pressed on this score. The teacher believed that the regime was not much concerned with forcing the new educational requirements on these older people. Professors and physicians study foreign languages primarily because "they do not want to be entirely dependent on current Polish professional literature." They want to be able to study the books and periodicals of other countries.

In the first postwar years, said the teacher, English was greatly in style. German was spurned as the language of

a country still considered an enemy. After the conclusion of the East German-Polish Friendship Pact, the prejudice gradually disappeared, until finally, out of 100 first-year students, 70 were taking German and 30 English.

Within the curriculum of the Pharmaceutical Faculty, this teacher gave one hour of German or English a week, while a colleague taught two hours of Russian. The teacher asserted that the students "liked the foreign languages and tried to keep up in the courses. I know, however, that it was not easy for them to do this. The foreign language courses greatly added to the already heavy burden of their schedules." It was required that by the end of the second year the students be able to translate a complicated text into Russian or a Western language.

The program for foreign language instruction was "poorly organized": the lecturers were given virtually no instructions and had to improvise their own courses. "My lessons were supposed to be based on two books, which were very poor," said the teacher. "One was 'Learning English' by Prejbisz and the other was a German copybook which was even worse than the English. Shortly before I left in June, I heard that preparations were under way to 'rationalize' the English and German lessons, with the lecturers henceforth adhering to precise instructions."

The professors were responsible not only for the academic progress of their students but also for student discipline. Roll call was held before each lesson. If a student missed three lessons, he could lose his scholarship, his right to live in the students' home, or even his place in the University.

A REFUGEE from Estonia who arrived in Sweden in October 1955 stated that it is believed that there is no longer any organized active resistance to the Communist regime in the Baltic states. Partly it was crushed and partly it petered out around 1949. The last armed clash between the resistance men and the MVD occurred in 1951 in the neighborhood of Vilnius in Lithuania, according to this refugee's knowledge.

The refugee added that this does not mean that there are no longer any resistance men—popularly called "forest brothers"—in the wooded areas of the three countries. Some of these men have been living there for the last ten years; others took to the woods at later dates, when threatened with arrest and deportation. But they no longer constitute any serious threat to the regime and the forests are no longer raided by the MVD. In some cases, said the refugee, the forest brothers have formed into bands which raid cooperative farms in the countryside and sometimes attack the towns. It is impossible to know how many of the robberies committed are really perpetrated by the forest brothers—who are forced to steal in order to survive and never rob private persons—and how many are the work of real criminals. The regime of course chooses to lay all crimes at the door of the "enemies of the people and the menials of foreign imperialists."

Resistance against the regime is now chiefly passive and it is very strong indeed, declared the refugee. All the people of the three Baltic nations—Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians—are entirely united in their hatred of the

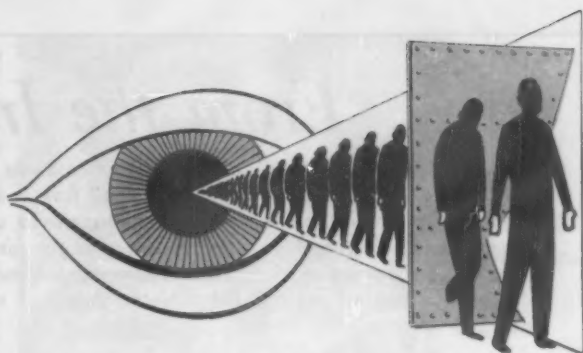
Soviets. They find the occupation of their countries very hard to bear, especially as the Baltic people consider themselves "on a higher level than the Russians, both culturally and economically." This, the refugee maintained, is confirmed by the Russians themselves; e.g., the managers and chief accountants of the plants, factories and enterprises who have come to Estonia from the Soviet Union cannot manage their jobs efficiently and rely on the assistance of their Estonian subordinates even for very simple matters.

The people of his homeland [Estonia] take the greatest trouble to live in a civilized fashion, keeping up all their customs and traditions, and resisting the demoralizing influence of their present hardships, said the refugee. They take a great interest in anything Western and listen assiduously to the Western radio. They treasure their old books and old magazines from before the war, and even the children read in them about all sorts of events and figures of the past with the same passion with which their parents used to read about Sherlock Holmes or Buffalo Bill.

There is, in this refugee's opinion, no danger of the youth becoming infected with Communism. The Estonians absolutely refuse to learn Russian although they have always been known to be linguistically gifted, and every educated Estonian used to know several languages. If a child uses a Russian word at home, he is often reprimanded by his parents. The teaching of Russian is compulsory in the schools and from their first year at school the children have six Russian lessons a week, but the result is nevertheless that when they go to the university, the young people do not know enough Russian to understand a lecture given in that language. A few years ago, the regime tried to introduce political lectures at the universities in Russian, but this project had to be abandoned because the students declared that they did not understand them. Shop clerks, street-car conductors, and waitresses do not speak Russian. This infuriates the Russians, but they are powerless against this compact resistance which prevails among all classes of people.

Sometimes this resistance to the Soviet influence forces the authorities to modify their plans. A few years ago the Estonian, Latvian and part of the Lithuanian railways were merged and Russian-staffed headquarters established for them in Riga. It is now rumored in Riga that this inter-republic administration will have to be disbanded. The reason is that the Estonians take advantage of the clause in their constitution, which says that their language is officially on an equal basis with Russian, and all the little station masters in Estonia send in their reports in Estonian only. The Russian administration chiefs must therefore employ a whole army of translators to be able to carry out their task.

This antagonistic spirit is evident at all sorts of sports competitions, especially at football games. When, for instance, an Estonian team plays a Russian team in Riga, the Latvians automatically cheer the Estonians, and the Estonians reciprocate when a Latvian-Russian match is played in Estonia. This attitude is common even among Estonian Communists. In 1950, a Latvian team played a Russian one in Estonia and the then Minister for State Security, Boris Kumm, cheered the Latvians enthusiastically



and bought every member of the Latvian team a bottle of brandy when they beat the Russians. When the match is between two Russian teams one of which is the "Dynamo"—the MVD team—then the Estonians or Latvians or Lithuanians are on the side of the other team and the whole audience shouts: "Bei militsionerov" (Beat the militiamen). The same kind of demonstrations occur during certain concerts. For instance, when the Estonian Academic Men's Chorus gives a concert, their program is composed of more or less regime-approved songs, but when they sing encores, these are exclusively old Estonian songs, some of them very patriotic. They sing these "encores" for over an hour after every concert and the enthusiasm of the public knows no bounds. The tickets to their concerts are always sold out a week in advance. The Russians can control their regular programs but not the encores.

Mutual helpfulness is the rule in the Baltic countries, said the refugee: "you can always rely on the support of your countrymen against the Russians, and informing is not at all prevalent. What is more, in the face of their common misfortunes and trials, the frictions that existed between Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the past have disappeared, and the consensus is that as soon as the Baltic States are liberated, they should establish a federation, a Baltic United States."

■ ■ ■
FOR YEARS THE Communist Party in Czechoslovakia has been waging a subtle but steady war on the non-Party press. According to a refugee, the main targets are the Prague newspapers *Svobodne Slovo* and *Lidova Demokracie* (both one-time organs of two opposition parties which are now puppet parties within the Communist-controlled "National Front"). The Communists use the generally known paper shortage as a pretext for harassing these newspapers. Also, since the spring of 1955, the two Prague dailies have been receiving only enough newsprint for each day's needs, and the allocation is so small that both papers have been forced to reduce the number of copies printed by 10-15,000 per day. Consequently, both papers are sold out by early morning, especially in the rural districts, and some subscribers are left without their copy. For example, in Usti n.L., against 436 requests for *Svobodne Slovo*, the administration can supply only 300 copies.

Both papers are reportedly operating on a very narrow financial margin, and may be forced to cut the number of editions to two or three a week.

From the Inside Out . . .

Recently two Bulgarians were interviewed by Radio Free Europe reporters in Istanbul and Trieste. One was a small farmer who had escaped from Communism, the other an intellectual and convinced Communist who was emigrating to Israel, although he said conditions had been extremely good for him in Bulgaria and he "got on well there from every point of view." The following personal opinions on conditions in Bulgaria offer an interesting contrast between the points of view of the Communist elite and those of the average man.

The Communist Intellectual Says:

"Since the inauguration of the Communist regime I have not only had a good financial position but . . . I enjoyed many privileges and was very well respected in the country both for my professional work and my loyalty to the regime. . . . I was completely satisfied with my standard of living in Bulgaria. . . . I can hardly say that there is one aspect of life in Bulgaria which I prefer to another, unless it be the continual increase in the construction of houses and homes. . . .

"It is our ambition to attain a higher standard of living than that of Western countries . . . our papers give little data on the work we are carrying out and the extent of the results obtained in the economic field, because common knowledge of such matters might prove advantageous to our enemy. . . . Among the finest achievements of the Bulgarian Communist Party [is] . . . the conquest of unemployment. . . .

"I think that the most popular members of the Bulgarian Communist Party and government are undoubtedly Vulko Chervenkov, the Premier, and Anton Yugov. . . .

"To me 'Communism' spells 'Democracy,' because if democracy means liberty (and we in Bulgaria have our liberty today) then democracy and liberty are synonymous. . . . We have our liberty in Bulgaria. . . .

"There is no doubt that the ultimate purpose of the United States of America is to become the first world power and to be able to dominate the world through armed force. . . . To this end it is creating defensive plans with every country, getting hold of all the strategic points, and giving economic and military aid to these countries. . . .

"I am firmly convinced that in Bulgaria there is less and less resistance to the Communist government every day. . . . I can in no way accept the idea that the Communists will be turned out one day, and that such an idea means the 'liberation' of Bulgaria. . . . The only thing which could bring about the collapse of Communism in Bulgaria would be the victory of the armed might of anti-Communist forces. . . ."

The Anti-Communist Small Farmer Says:

"These [local customs] have been abandoned partly because they are now considered 'bourgeois' and also because of the low standard of living and poverty. . . . The 'new aristocracy' live well, for in addition to earning a good living without too much effort, they often resort to theft. Thus one sees new and pretty houses springing up in all the villages, built from material stolen from the kolkhozes. . . .

"The present standard of living of the Bulgarian peasants is very much lower than it used to be. . . . The kolkhoz members earn only starvation wages, and in the majority of kolkhozes there is unemployment because, although each member is expected to work there at least 100 days per annum, nobody cares about what happens to him for the rest of the year. . . . Prices in general are steadily going up and yet the Communists talk about the cheapness of life. People are hungry and they have nothing to wear, but newspapers claim that they never had it so good. . . .

"They organize meetings but everybody knows that these are Communist-sponsored. If you go to any of these meetings you will always hear the same things repeated: they speak of Stalin, Russia, Chervenkov. . . .

"Those who dare have music at a wedding, baptism or birthday are immediately called 'kulaks' or reactionaries, and proceedings are taken against them. . . . The Communists constantly speak about freedom while, on the other hand, they encourage children to denounce their own parents—and to be proud of it. . . .

"Girls, women and children are drilled with guns and yet the Communists claim that it is the enemies, i.e., the Allies, who want war. I have never seen a nation make such preparations for war. . . .

"Everyone hates the Communist regime and stands back from it as if it were the plague. . . . No man can say his frank opinion and everyone cherishes a grudge against Communism. . . . The villagers agree that so-called 'imperialists' will put an end to Communism. No one can know what the villagers think, but wait and see which side they will fight for when the Communists give the people arms to fight these 'imperialists'. . . ."

The Baker's Dozen

This is the story of a young Polish baker who fled to the West in the early part of last year. His experiences as a manager of a State bakery give an insight into the planning failures and mismanagement of a Communist economy.

FOR ALMOST three years I worked in the State bakery in Zawidow, and didn't have to worry about anything. After eight hours of work I went quietly home. I was paid every first and fifteenth of the month. But suddenly everything changed and my peaceful existence was over. It began with the fact that our manager—incidentally a "right guy"—had had enough of his job and wanted to go back to his home in the Poznan district. Because we got along well, he asked me to take his place. He wanted to have somebody ready so his release would be easier.

I hesitated. How could I become a manager when I was only a simple baker? But I was told that there was a course offered in Glucholazy where one could become an accomplished manager in six weeks. I let myself be talked into it and went to Glucholazy. But the course was like every other: politics and more politics, and only then something about baking. Well, I knew something about baking because I had been an apprentice for a private master. But politics? No, I just didn't get it and didn't give a darn either. When the course was over, I was told that I could work as a manager, and that I would be sent the diploma later. I knew all along that I would never get the diploma, and I never did.

I went back to Zawidow without a diploma. The administration there told me that the lack of a diploma made no difference; I would take over the post of manager until a "real one" was found. In February I took over the tasks of my ex-boss and soon realized that it was nothing but torture. I prayed that they would soon replace me but nothing of the sort happened. Fourteen days passed and then four weeks. I could hardly get the work done and I was afraid of being held responsible for the goods that were always disappearing from the shop. Therefore, in March, I wrote a letter to the WZGS [Provincial Union of Communal Cooperatives] and asked to be dismissed. I received an answer in five days and I was pleased by the speedy response. But I couldn't believe my eyes when I read that they had "accepted my application for permanent employment as manager."



"Your application? It hasn't been lost, oh no. There have been thousands of such applications on my desk—I still have them—and I have not lost a single one. . . ."

Szpilki (Warsaw), May 15, 1955

I foamed with fury and raced with the letter to the head of the GS [Communal Cooperative]. What did this mean, I asked him, do they think I'm crazy? I want to quit, not end up with a permanent job as manager. And his answer was: "We had you trained."

"So what? I didn't get the master's diploma anyway."

"And why didn't you get it?"

"Because I flunked politics."

"I can send you to a Party training school."

"That would be just peachy of you," I said.

He got very angry and shouted: "Who do you think you are? We spend money on you, you bake bread for the Army and keep Army accounts, so you know military secrets and you want to run away after a month? Either you work or you go to the public prosecutor."

What could I do? I became a "real" manager. And then the real hell began.

Actually I had not only one, but two bakeries to run. In Zawidow there are two State bakeries and a single private one. One of the State bakeries only bakes bread for the villages in the area; and the second, where I worked, bakes for the Army, for schools, canteens, kindergartens, and for private individuals too. Our GS, which has jurisdiction over the two bakeries, thought it would be very clever to hire just one manager for both bakeries because then the performance bonus would only have to be paid

out once. So I kept the books for both bakeries and received the bonus. The baker who worked in the other shop received only the wages of a simple baker. I had to keep track of five workers at both bakeries and was responsible for their work.

I always ordered the flour from the PZGS [District Union of Communal Cooperatives] two or three days before our supply would run out. Sometimes the flour arrived on time, but often it just wasn't sent. When the flour didn't arrive on time, I had no choice but to borrow from the private baker or to buy in a retail store. Flour supplied by the PZGS cost 420 *zloty* per 100 kilos, but when I had to buy privately it cost me 750 to 800 *zloty*. When I presented the bills to our GS in Zawidow, officials used to make sour faces, but they accepted them because it really wasn't my fault that the flour wasn't delivered as scheduled.

Soon after I'd begun my job as manager of the bakery, I received a very large delivery, 85 percent of which was flour called *bulkowa*. This flour isn't used for making rolls as the name would indicate; rather it is used to mix with other flours for various qualities of bread—such as *Sandomierski*, *Lodzki*, *Slaski*. One hundred kilos of this flour costs 380 *zloty* if one pays with the usual bank drafts. I wondered at the time why I got so much of this kind of flour when I hadn't even ordered it. On the contrary, I needed flour for *Sitkowy*. Somehow I used up the first three tons I received, but later another 12 tons of this type of flour was delivered, and my God, what a poor excuse for flour it was! I soon found out it had been kept too long in the PZGS warehouse in Luban where it was damp. It all became so moldy that when even a little of it got mixed in with another flour it changed its taste.

After an inspection of the WZGS the damage was discovered and all hell broke loose. But what was to be done with the flour? The warehouse was full of it! The gentleman in charge decided that it should be baked up. At any price. You should have seen that flour! It was repulsive just to touch. In the first delivery some pains were taken and the flour was strained, but afterwards nothing was done to it and the green clumps in it were as big as one's fist.

How was I supposed to make bread out of it? One of the bakers did nothing all day but try to strain it, but I was losing money on the weight nevertheless because the clumps couldn't be baked. And what would that mean? Deficit and prison!

One day I lost my temper. I grabbed a particularly large clump of flour and went to Luban to talk to the WZGS. Sokolowski, the chairman, was in a meeting and the secretary tried to detain me, but I pushed her aside and broke into the room with the clump of flour in my hand. Sokolowski addressed me angrily. "What do you want?" I showed him the flour and asked him to smell the bread from it. First he looked at the flour and then at the bread, and told me to discontinue baking with it until a decision came from the WZGS.

After three days I received a written decision: "Flour suitable for production." What could I do? I baked! The

Criticism and Self Criticism



Szpilki (Warsaw), May 15, 1955

very next day there was a turmoil in the shop. People brought back the moldy bread they had bought and walked straight to the private baker nearby whose bread was always excellent. Later, in the attempt to make the bread somewhat more tolerable, I no longer followed the regular recipes for *Lodzki*, *Slaski*, *Sandomierski* and *Graham* but instead used only from five to ten kilos of the moldy 85-percent wheat flour per hundred kilos of other flour. The bread was still bad, however, and I lost many customers. I never could use up the bad flour and when I fled there was still at least two tons left. Well, my successor can worry about that!

The private baker never had the flour troubles that we of the State-owned bakeries had. He got his flour from the cooperative *Jednosc* which was authorized to serve those private enterprises still in existence. He had a vested interest in getting good raw materials and he got them too. A liter of *schnapps* changed hands with every delivery and so both parties were happy—the supplier and the baker. But what was I supposed to do? Why should I try to make special deals and give up some of my laughably low wages in order to get better materials? I should care!

I had troubles enough with the other goods too. For the cake I needed butter, cream, milk and eggs. But if I

ordered butter at the GS, for instance, I never got what I wanted when I wanted it. In summertime I ordered 10 kilos of butter and they sent me 50. I had no ice box and the butter spoiled in a few days; we couldn't use it that fast. On the other hand, if I ordered more during the winter, I rarely received enough and often nothing at all. For this reason I tried to buy all that I could at the farmers' market. I signed the bills, the GS approved them and the cashier paid the farmers. I got along very well with the method and always had the amounts needed on hand.

But this didn't last long. One of my employees accused me of showing favoritism toward the farmers; that is, of making out bills for more goods than were actually delivered. Well, sometimes it happened that farmers brought goods which were not carefully weighed. In such cases I used to round off the number of kilograms to make the figuring simpler and they promised to bring me the amount short next time. And they always did too. We knew each other and they didn't want to make any difficulties for me. When these discrepancies were revealed, I was forbidden to buy on the free market. After that I was dependent on the deliveries of the GS. From then on the milk always arrived sour, the eggs were not fresh, and the butter came irregularly.

It was an eternal struggle to get yeast. Bread had to be made and no one asked how I did it. It simply had to be there. Before a holiday yeast was impossible to get anywhere for miles around. Once I saw no way but to get on my bicycle and start searching. This was two days before Easter, last year, and the confectioner was sitting with nothing to do. Without yeast, he couldn't begin. I bicycled to Zgorzelec. No yeast. I went to Piensk. Nothing there either. Suddenly I heard there was supposed to be some yeast in Bogatynia, so I went there.

No sooner had I arrived when the manager of the supply department of the GS told me: "Who do you think you are? I have 10 kilos of yeast and 8 bakeries to supply. I can't give you a single gram."

I bicycled back. I had gone 180 kilometers, arrived home dog tired, and all for nothing. Before Christmas it was no better. I had to ask for a "duty trip" and went to the outskirts of Poznan. After much begging and pleading I got 20 kilos. I wouldn't have been given anything if I hadn't shown several written complaints from the schools and kindergartens and if I had not had a letter of recommendation from the District Council.

I was sent the yearly plan directly from the PZGS. This plan alone was so enormous that my hair stood on end. But more plans came on top of that: the quarterly plans and the monthly plans. But don't get the idea that the monthly and quarterly plans coincided with the yearly plan, as one might expect. No, every successive plan was higher than what I would have figured on the basis of the yearly plan. It was enough to drive anyone crazy. How was I supposed to fulfill these plans? And more than that—even if I had been able to do all the work, which was

out of the question—I didn't have the necessary flour. The flour which I received didn't correspond in the least with the plan.

I remember that in 1954, 117 tons of 60-percent rye bread was demanded by the year's plan. Later, when I got the quarterly and monthly plans, the amount increased by so much that by the end of the year, I would have had to bake 217 tons. How did I reach such a figure? I can't remember all the details, but I do know, for instance, that in the second quarter of 1954, *Naleczowski* was fixed at 35 tons and I baked only 336 kilos. There wasn't enough flour for more. The plan for confections was quite the contrary. Apparently the State was not as interested in sweets as in bread because the yearly plan was set much higher than was called for in the quarterly and monthly plans. According to the yearly plan, I would have had to bake about 400 kilos per quarter, but when the monthly plans arrived they only asked for 50 kilos a month. We didn't let that bother us and overfulfilled the plan for cake so that we baked an average of 400 kilos per month. That was the minimum to meet the demand.

Sometimes I had the feeling that the plan for bread was first drawn up rather normally and then turned upside down. For example, according to the plan we were supposed to make much more bread during the winter quarter than during the summer months. And this despite the fact that the farmer, who was our best consumer, had more time during the winter to make his own bread and also had more flour on hand than just before or during the harvest. Thus the bakeries were overstocked with bread during the winter months, and in the summer we were always short and the demand was enormous.

What I've said up to now is by no means all there is to tell about the trials and tribulations of being a manager. It would take days to enumerate everything. I might have been able to stand it if it had just been the bookkeeping and the constant struggle with the GS and PZGS and the WZGS. But no, every day there were a thousand petty annoyances. The street in front of the shop is dirty. Who's to sweep it? Not the bakers. So the manager has to grab the broom! Who's to clean the bakery? No cleaning woman was assigned, so it was the manager again, or his wife, who had to do it! Who should see to it that the rubbish and ashes, fast collecting into a small mountain in the yard, were removed? The manager. And the dung from the outhouse? Again the manager.

I had to get up at three in the morning and didn't get to bed before eleven or twelve at night, although I sometimes collapsed with weariness. For all this I was paid 725 *zloty* a month and after reductions 650 to 670 *zloty*. The performance bonus was extra but that 114 *zloty* didn't make the cabbage fat either.

Sometimes I'm very glad that on top of everything the UB [the political police] didn't leave me alone and that they tried to force me into becoming an informer. They gave me no choice but to flee. At least now I can relax.

Current Development

Hungary

1956 Plan

The plan targets for 1956, according to Andor Berei, president of the National Planning Office, are as follows (*Szabad Nep*, [Budapest], Nov. 17): an increase of 6 percent in industrial output, 3 percent in agricultural output, 4.1 percent in the turnover of retail trade, and an increase in total investments of 30 percent. These goals indicate that the regime intends to continue on a middle path between the forced industrialization of the Stalin period and the relaxation that took place during Nagy's New Course. Emphasis on heavy industry will continue, but at the same time there is to be a "relatively modest" improvement in living standards. A notable departure from the past will be the integration of the Hungarian plan with those of other countries in the area, and a resulting division of labor among them.

Industry

The keynote in industry was sounded by the Central Committee of the Party, which met November 9-12. It passed a resolution stating that "The results achieved during the past few years and this year show beyond doubt the correctness of the policy of Socialist industrialization and of giving priority to the development of heavy industry." The resolution went on to say that further industrial development would require a "more rapid raising" of the levels of industrial technique and of labor productivity, a "more marked reduction" of production costs and an improvement in the quality of production (*Szabad Nep*, Nov. 13).

Berei later revealed that the output of heavy industry is expected to increase by 10.1 percent, while that of light industry will decrease by 3.8 percent. The reduction in light industry will result from discontinuing the export of certain products made from imported raw materials, a form of exchange which has not been a "paying proposition." In other industries output is expected to increase by the following percentages: coal, 7-8; coking coal, 18; oil, 6.6; alumina, 15.6; aluminum, 10.8; laminated steel, 5.7; electricity, 8.7; construction, 23.1; mechanical industries, 11.9; chemicals, 3.8; nitrate fertilizers, 300. Still other targets were given by Andras Hegedus, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the November 15 session of the National Assembly (*Szabad Nep*, Nov. 16). He said that the engineering industry, to which the Council of Ministers had as-



"He must be the chief architect of Warsaw himself."

Szpilki (Warsaw), March 20, 1955

signed a pre-eminent role in the campaign for higher productivity, will increase its output by 15.7 percent. He discussed the housing problem, which he admitted was bad, especially in the large industrial towns, and promised that in 1956 nearly 10,000 new dwellings will be built in Budapest. The State is to build more than 6,000 units while another 3,500 would be put up through "private resources." In an effort to "provide apartments for more families within the shortest possible time," it is planned to concentrate on apartments of one room and a kitchen. Lajos Szijarto, Minister of Construction, told the Assembly the following day that the State building industry will construct a total of 12,000 apartments in 1956 (*Szabad Nep*, Nov. 17).

The regime spokesmen attempted to soften the contrast between the targets for heavy industry (10.1 percent increase) and for light industry (3.8 percent decrease), and stated emphatically that this meant no decrease in the supply of consumer goods. Hegedus maintained that stocks on hand in "Socialist" stores were 50 percent greater than a year before—implying that consumption in 1956 will be met in part from reserves. This was made explicit in a speech of Erno Gero, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers: "In spite of the slight fall in the output of light industry, the flow of light industrial supplies to meet the needs of the population will increase considerably. . . . This will be possible because we shall reduce the export of uneconomical articles, and because there are vast reserves at our disposal." He also said that there would be "a sharp increase" in the output of the food industry and "a collec-

tive increase of about 3 percent in the output of the industries producing consumer goods" (*Szabad Nep*, Nov. 18).

Agriculture

The year 1955 marked a turning point in the tide of "Socialist" agriculture, according to several speakers. The decline in kolkhoz membership that took place during the Nagy period was to some extent reversed. According to Hegedus, the new policies adopted in July had encouraged 50,000 families to join collectives by the end of October. State assistance to the collectives totalled 1.3 billion *forints* in 1955. The superiority of large-scale collective farming was allegedly demonstrated "by the fact that [in 1954] the full production value derived by each family from both the communal and household plots was on an average 34,578 *forints*, while . . . for the families of individual farmers [it] hardly reached 20,000 *forints*." He predicted that the difference in 1955 would prove to have increased by another 10 to 15 percent in favor of the collectives.

Andor Berei's speech revealed that in 1956 the subsidies for collectives will be further increased, although individual producers "will also receive considerable aid." The area of land sown with corn will be increased by 86,000 hectares in order to assure a supply of bread and to reduce the expensive grain imports of previous years. Land sown with sunflower will be increased by 23,000 hectares, but rice fields will be reduced by 4,000 hectares. A planned addition of 92,000 hectares of fodder land for stockbreeding is directed to increasing the ultimate supply of meats and fats. The regime is putting considerable emphasis upon mechanization: there are to be 300 more threshers, 1,500 more cultivators and 3,800 more tractors. These will allow the MTS to increase their work by 12 percent. The new fertilizer plant in Kazincbarcika has started production and it is expected that the total supply of chemical fertilizers in the coming year will be 380,000 tons.

Investments

Berei gave a partial breakdown on the investments planned for 1956. Total investment is expected to be 12.20 billion *forints*, an increase of 30 percent over 1955. Heavy industry will get 37 percent of it, or 4.58 billion *forints*. Mining investments represent "one-ninth of the overall figure," which seems to mean 1.36 billion *forints*, and another 1.1 billion go to electric power. Agriculture will receive 2.2 billion *forints*, 18 percent of the total, "of which 697 million will be for State farms, 409 million for MTS, 332 million for agricultural producer cooperatives [collectives], and 412 million for the extension of the irrigation network." Transportation is to receive 1.148 billion *forints* or 9.4 percent of total investment. "Almost one-fifth" of total investments will be devoted to "the building of dwellings, and to social, communal, and cultural ends."

Productivity

The regime spokesmen laid heavy emphasis on increased productivity as the chief means of fulfilling the 1956 plan.

The Central Committee admitted in its resolution that Hungary has exhausted its stock of surplus labor and will have to depend on increased efficiency to raise production in the future. "Increase in productivity since the launching of the First Five Year Plan has been considerably faster than in the capitalist countries in the same period. Nevertheless, before 1955, increase in industrial output has been due largely to an increase in the number of productive workers and only to a minor degree to higher rates of productivity. This was chiefly because our State organs have failed to pay due attention to the principal source of raising labor productivity, that is, technical development. . . ." The resolution listed a number of ways in which the lag in industrial technique will be combatted. In addition to better exploitation of existing technical possibilities and the modernization of existing factories, these include increases in machine tool production which will enable a further development of the engineering industry.

The Central Committee also hopes to raise productivity through a better utilization of the existing labor force. An effort will be made to increase the proportion of productive



"That Will Never Happen Again!"

"The monopolist: 'You'll sell me the exploitation of your tobacco, and I'll get you into the UN . . .'"

Trud (Sofia), November 3, 1955

workers and to tighten labor discipline. More use is to be made of material incentives, including the payment of premiums for higher quality work and the charging of penalties for damage caused by waste. The resolution also implied that there will be a general raising of norms. "Through the establishment of strict norm and technological discipline, and by increasing the number of technical norms, it must be insured that the norms more and more gradually become the incentive factors of technical advancement and lead to the reduction of production costs."

Production costs are also to be lowered through savings in materials, especially by reducing the use of imported materials. The activities of "Socialist emulation," which have hitherto been directed mainly to increasing the output of the workers, must now emphasize the improvement of quality as well. "Provision must be made to insure that correct initiative and suggestions by the workers should soon be put into practice; that proven innovations should be given the earliest possible practical application; and that the best working methods should be systematically distributed."

According to Andor Berei, the general level of productivity in State industry is expected to increase 4.8 percent. The greatest increase, 8.7 percent, will occur in the machine tool industry.

Area Integration

The resolution indicated that areawide cooperation would be stressed more than it has before: "For the large-scale elevation of labor productivity and the cutting down of production costs—besides the most complete possible exploitation of the country's internal resources—greater use must be made of the possibilities involved in international cooperation among the countries of the Socialist camp with the further development of international division of labor, based on . . . the economic potential of each country." This statement was underlined by Erno Gero in his speech to the National Assembly. Gero said that international division of labor could lead, on the average, to a 15 to 20 percent increase in labor productivity—"often as much as 40 to 50 percent." It would make it possible for Hungary to "manufacture in mass production and on a very high technical level machines, vehicles, instruments, and industrial installations which normally only the very big countries would be able to produce."

Repatriation Drive

The propaganda campaign urging emigres to return home was extended on November 1 with the establishment of a radio station, *Szulofoldunk* (Homeland), broadcasting exclusively to Hungarians abroad, and particularly to refugees in Western Europe. On November 3, *Szulofoldunk* announced that a regular "message" program would be broadcast to help Hungarians in Western Europe find their relatives in Hungary and to solve problems they may encounter in attempting to return home. Other recent broadcasts consisted of music and statements by redefectors about the pleasant aspects of life in Hungary.

"Migrating Bird"



Cartoon illustrates excessive Hungarian labor turnover; names on suitcase refer to various industrial enterprises.

Ludas Matyi (Budapest), May 5, 1955

Czechoslovakia

1956 Plan

At a December 2 plenary session of the Council of Ministers, the 1956 State plan was approved in accordance with targets stipulated in the draft of the Second Five Year Plan. According to Radio Prague, December 6, this draft envisages the following production percentage increases by 1960: industry, with emphasis on capital goods, 50; agriculture, about 33 1/3, "on the basis of the absolute superiority" of the "Socialized" sector; and building, at least 50. The volume of capital investments in the Second Five Year Plan is scheduled to be at least 75 percent higher than in the first Five Year Plan.

Taking these goals into consideration, total industrial production in 1956 is to increase by 9 percent over 1955 planned results (as compared with a 10 percent increase in 1955). A speedier growth is projected for capital goods production, which is to go up more than 10 percent, while consumer goods production is to increase by more than 7 percent. Productivity in industry is to rise by 7.1 percent, "particularly by introducing more intensive utilization of modern equipment."

The planned percentage increases in mining are: hard coal, 6; brown coal, 12. Power production is to rise by 10.3 percent, iron ore production by 18.5 percent, pig iron by 12.6 percent, ferro-alloys by 42 percent, and rolled goods

by more than 8 percent. "The development of ferrous metallurgy will be speedier than in 1955."

The 1956 plan places particular emphasis on the engineering industry: "The engineering plan is based on the necessity of providing our economy with new equipment, of insuring machinery supply for new plants, further mechanizing agriculture, exporting machinery and supplying larger quantities of engineering products to the home market." For example, production of diesel motors is to increase by 52 percent, piston compressors with a capacity of 40 atmospheres by 114 percent, mobile compressors by 144 percent, and automatic and semi-automatic lathes by 145 percent.

Other planned percentage increases are: food manufacturing equipment, 60; furnaces, 95; tile industry equipment, 67; printing and paper industry equipment, 38; farm machinery, 48; and tractors, 40. There will also be increases in consumer goods—radio sets by almost 100 percent, television sets by 160 percent and motorcars by 80 percent.

No specific percentage increases were given for light industrial production—although it was stated that production of textiles, woolens, knitwear and leather goods would go up. It was also announced that the volume of consumer goods manufactured by the chemical industry would increase by as much as 23.5 percent.

As for agriculture, gross production is to increase by more than 9 percent, chiefly by extending the area of cultivated land by approximately 100,000 hectares (in 1955, the plan called for the reclamation of 120,000 hectares of arable land), and by raising the hectare yields of grain, sugar beet, hops, potatoes, etc. (In 1955, farm production increased 9 percent.) Milk yields are to increase by 9 percent, the number of calves raised per 100 cows by 2.6 percent, and young pigs raised per sow by 2.5 percent. "Agriculture will continue to be supplied with mechanical equipment, so that the total volume of mechanized processes will go up by 16 percent. Above all, the volume of capital investment in agriculture will continue to grow. Further material and financial resources will be supplied in order to raise agricultural production."

Investments in 1956 are to increase by more than 20 percent over 1955 (in 1955, new investments totalled 22.8 billion *koruny*, which represented only a slight increase over the 20.9 billion invested in 1954). "The rapid increase in investments is motivated by the necessity of making up for the delay in investments caused by low plan implementation in recent years."

The national income is to increase by 8.4 percent and retail trade by 4.7 percent as compared with the 8.2 percent rise achieved in 1955 (Radio Prague, December 14). Food supplies for domestic consumption are scheduled to increase in percentage terms as follows: butchered meat, 9.7; fat, 96; smoked bacon, 36.1; butter, 5; vegetable fats, 6.8. Supplies of radio receivers for the home market are to increase 80 percent; television sets, 154 percent; phonographs, 15.8 percent; clocks and alarm clocks, 28 percent; electric appliances, 12.6 percent; washing machines, 15 percent; and refrigerators, 59.7 percent. Further, the plan foresees the building of more than 350 movie theaters and 1.4

Inscription on Wall: "Capitalists of the World Unite!"



Facade of "New York Herald Tribune" lists the following news bulletins:

"Trade agreement between Czechoslovakia and Egypt"; "Six million votes for Communists in Indonesia"; "Tough fighting in Algeria and Morocco"; "Disagreement within the Atlantic Pact"; "Kubitschek won in Brazil."

Szpilki (Warsaw), November 20, 1955

million square meters of dwelling space, as well as 30,000 additional places for school students and more than 2,000 hospital beds.

The number of workers will rise 2.5 percent by the inclusion of young women and young people leaving school. The greatest increases will be in the number of workers in mining and building.

One of the basic tasks for 1956 is "intensive introduction of modern machinery, speedy growth of productivity, and maximum utilization of material and labor resources," to ensure a speedy rise of production in all branches of the economy and conditions for a "proportionate further growth" in 1957-60. To accomplish this, the 1956 plan envisages a "priority rise in capital goods production," and an increase in "the intensity and productivity" of agriculture and a rise in farm collectivization. While the rate of 1956 increases are on a level with those of 1955, investments are much higher, and the emphasis on improved technology, productivity, and capital goods production appears to be greater.

Engineering Lags

Failure of the engineering industry to fulfill its production plan was scored by *Rude Pravo* (Prague), December 3, 1955. The paper complained that export orders worth many million *koruny*, as well as orders for industry, transportation and agriculture, had not been met. "The [debts owed] include, for example, turbines and transformers made by the CKD Stalingrad plant, hundreds of S-440 cars [private cars] for the domestic market from Mlada Boleslav, 36 million *koruny* worth of shipping from the Komarno yards, and 2,000 export sewing machines from Sobeslav." Blaming weaknesses on poor control and work organization, *Rude Pravo* urged all Party officials to see that arrears are made up: "Not to carry out this year's plan would mean to start on the new Five Year Plan with a burden liable to impede and slow down the advance of production in the coming year."

Because of the regime's present stress on the importance of foreign trade, lags in crucial export production constitute a major problem. *Rude Pravo* thus warned that deficiencies in export production in all three engineering ministries seriously jeopardize the reputation of the entire Czechoslovak industry and made customers lose confidence in Czechoslovak delivery dates. "Once this is repeated, it may lead to loss of an order. This is something we cannot afford. We insure the means . . . necessary for the purchase of raw materials and foodstuffs abroad by our engineering exports." *Rude Pravo* pointed out further that lags in export production were occurring in branches which were not new, but which had been exporting for a number of years such items as "power station equipment, cooling plants, motorcycles and cars and radio sets."

Trade Offensive

A drive to expand trade with Asia and Africa appears to be high on the current regime agenda. *Svobodne Slovo* (Prague), November 9, reported on the visit of Burmese mining experts who "expressed the conviction" that it would be possible to purchase Czechoslovak mining machinery under the existing trade agreement in exchange for non-ferrous metals, ores, rice and other farm products. On November 20, *Rude Pravo* (Prague), reported on the opening of a Czechoslovak industrial exhibition in Rangoon, and disclosed that Foreign Trade Minister Richard Dvorak had headed the Czechoslovak delegation at the opening. The delegation remained in Burma for about a week, and discussions were held on Czechoslovak technical aid to Burma and on increasing the "mutual exchange of goods."

Rude Pravo, November 27, reported that the Dvorak delegation had also visited Egypt and that trade negotiations had also taken place there. Earlier, on October 18, *Vecerni Praha* (Prague), reported on Czechoslovak participation in the Ethiopian Trade Fair and, on November 11, *Rude Pravo* printed an article on Emperor Haile Selassie's great interest in Czechoslovak machine tools, which were "already being used" in his country. Several days later on November 14, *Rude Pravo* reported that Czechoslovak Ambassador to India Frantisek Komzala and For-

eign Minister Dvorak had been received by Nehru and that they had discussed intensification of economic cooperation and Czechoslovak readiness to "contribute according to its possibilities to the Indian industrialization program." On November 17, *Rude Pravo* printed an interview with Dvorak, who stated that Czechoslovakia could aid Indian industrialization by "direct deliveries or by assistance in . . . metallurgy, coal mining and engineering." Two days later, on November 19, the *Rude Pravo* correspondent in New Delhi reported that trade between India and Czechoslovakia had almost doubled in the past two years, and that Czechoslovakia was exporting some 40 locomotives and 2,050 railway cars in exchange for ores, mica, shellac and tea.

Reporting on his visits over Radio Prague, December 1, Minister Dvorak declared that Czechoslovakia had signed an agreement with Egypt to build a 400-ton-capacity cement factory and that more contracts are expected in the future. "In addition, there is much interest in Czechoslovak engineering products . . . [and] technical aid in building new factories and training technicians and experts. All of us who have anything to do with foreign trade must make sure that our export is of the highest standard."

Agriculture

According to the latest collectivization figures announced in *Zemelske Noviny* (Prague), November 26, by Minister of Agriculture Vaclav Krutina, the "Socialized" sector of agriculture, including State farms, now covers 42 percent of the total farm land. As of September 1, 1955, collectives (Types II-IV) existed in 47.6 percent of communities and occupied 26.9 percent of the total arable land. On the basis of these figures, it appears that collectivization is still below that of June 1953. At that time (according to former Minister of Agriculture Uher, December 19, 1953), collectives existed in 58 percent of the communities and tilled 40 percent of the total farm land and 44 percent of all arable land.

To increase the collectivized area, the regime is focussing its propaganda efforts on middle peasants and small farmers employed in industry. An article in *Prace* (Prague), November 15, 1955, indicated that the worker-farmer will now be pressured to join kolkhozes by the trade union organization in his place of work. *Prace* claimed that, after joining a kolkhoz, many small farmers would be permitted to continue to work in industry as long as their wives worked the collectivized land. The newspaper pointed out, however, that "times have changed" and that it is no longer necessary for the small farmer to secure his income from two separate sources:

"In 1953, there were 727,000 small farms with an area of up to two hectares of land farmed by workers, employees or pensioners. 7.6 percent of the arable land was taken up by these 727,000 holdings. Another 200,000 workers and employees tilled plots of 2-5 hectares. That means that there were over 900,000 agricultural holdings whose owners . . . were workers, employees and pensioners. . . . Of course, we do not want the enormous number of worker-farmers to leave industry and remain in the villages. Our agriculture does not even need that many peo-

Coal for Coal Mine



Inscription on coal wagon reads: "To Handlova Coal Mines from Modrokamensky Coal Basin." Man gesticulating complains: "Where on earth have you been with that coal, we've all been freezing here."

Rohac (Bratislava), November 10, 1955

ple. . . . The entry of worker-farmers into the collectives would not always have to mean their departure from industry; however, it will be important for the wives to work in the collectives.

"In order to win worker-farmers into the collectives, it will become necessary to develop an intensive persuasion campaign. This is the task of trade union organizations in the plants . . . which can influence them by the mere fact that they are working there. It is only natural that winning over the worker-farmer is not an easy thing. The influence of their divided interests is also at play here. It was always their desire to secure their livelihood from two sources at least. . . . Today, however, times are different. Today, the worker does not have to fear loss of his job, or that his little plot of land will remain his only source of income."

The resistance of middle farmers to collectivization remains the Party's chief problem. Minister of Agriculture Krutina (*Zemedske Noviny*, November 26) declared that although hundreds of new collectives had been established in the second half of 1955, the thousands who joined them were mainly small farmers and workers living in the rural area. "We must not permit . . . these new collectives to become isolated from those farmers who still farm privately. The Party is now fighting to gain for the collectives other farmers, primarily middle farmers. The fact that the middle farmer rarely enters the new collective indicates that our political work, . . . especially among middle farmers, is still weak."

A new government decree regulating "land adjustments" will probably constitute a form of pressure on middle farmers to join collectives. According to *Zemedske Noviny*, November 20, the new decree on allocating plots to collectives differs from the former one in that measures to "consolidate kolkhoz" land can be taken at the suggestion of the kolkhoz; the old ruling required the consent of the ma-

jority of farmers in the community. In return for lands incorporated into the kolkhoz, the private farmer will be allocated a substitute plot. Although the new decree states that this substitute plot must be equivalent in size to the one included in the kolkhoz, it is likely that the land will be of poorer quality and that the farmer will suffer from this transaction.

The regime's present collectivization campaign has been accompanied by anti-kulak propaganda, particularly with respect to infiltration of "kulaks" into collectives. Urging the establishment of new collectives in the winter, *Rude Pravo* (Prague), December 7, warned: "Communists and some committees do not pay sufficient attention to preventing kulaks from entering collectives. Some comrades think that the main thing is to establish a collective and then to chase kulaks out of it once it is sufficiently strong. This, however, is a shortsighted policy, which does more harm than good. Comrades in Sobeslav District who founded such collectives will have a lot of work on their hands before they are through."

Amnesty Extended

Although the May 9, 1955 amnesty for emigres who left the country illegally under the influence of "hostile propaganda" was scheduled to end on November 9, 1955, the regime took steps to extend its repatriation campaign and continued its propaganda urging exiles to return to Czechoslovakia.

A November 15 issue of *Hlas Domova* (Prague), organ of the "Committee for Care of Redefectors," contained an editorial stating that the Committee had proposed to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front that the amnesty be extended both for citizens who had registered for repatriation prior to November 9 (but had not yet returned to Czechoslovakia), and for citizens who had only recently made up their minds to return. According to *Hlas Domova*, these proposals were made because "personal difficulties, transportation obstacles, and pressure caused by mercenary refugees," had prevented would-be-redefectors from "carrying out their resolution to return to the motherland within the set time limit." *Hlas Domova* also explained its action by stating that many refugees had heard the news of amnesty "belatedly" and that requests from citizens at home and abroad had urged the government to be more lenient.

Romania

Five Year Plan Results

The latest report on expected fulfillment of the First Five Year Plan was made by Miron Constantinescu, Politburo member and First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, in a speech celebrating the 38th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, broadcast by Radio Bucharest on November 6. The official enlarged on previous regime statements by claiming that overall industrial production had nearly tripled since 1938 (see NBIC, October 1955, page 56), and he made the following comparisons between output in

selected industries in 1938 and their expected output in 1955:

	1938	Expected 1955
Electric power (billion k.w.h.).....	1.1	4.3
Methane gas (billion cubic meters).....	.3	3.9
Crude oil (million tons).....	6.6	10.5
Coal (million tons).....	2.8	6.3
Steel (thousand tons).....	284	785
Sulfuric acid (thousand tons).....	44	91
Sugar (thousand tons).....	95	132
Meat (thousand tons).....	300	440
Bread (thousand tons).....	540	980
Fats (thousand tons).....	95	150
Footwear (million pairs).....(1950)11		17

Constantinescu admitted that some sectors of industry would not fulfill their targets under the Five Year Plan, "both in the sector of [producer goods]—steel, cement, cellulose, and paper—and in consumer goods production." The revised target for steel, announced by Premier Gheorghiu-Dej in August 1953, was one million tons—a 20 percent decrease from the original Plan target of 1.25 million tons.

Constantinescu failed to list other industries in which targets will not be reached: crude oil (11 million tons, revised upward from the original Plan target of 10 million tons); electric power (4.7 billion kwh); and coal (8.5 million tons). Other production figures listed by Constantinescu are less than the targets of the original Five Year Plan, though it is not known to what extent these targets were revised during the New Course. The original target for bread was 1,240 thousand tons; for sugar 278 thousand tons; for footwear 23.4 million pairs; and for sulfuric acid 143 thousand tons.

The volume of investment under the Five Year Plan now ending was more than 65 billion *lei*. Of the total, said Constantinescu, "almost 60 percent was allotted to industry, mostly for industry producing the means of production. At the same time large amounts were [invested] in consumer goods industries, and agricultural investments have increased considerably, particularly . . . since the August 1953 plenary session of the Party." He claimed that "the measures taken by the Party and government to eliminate the previous shortcomings" in agriculture had given "very good results." More than 11 million tons of grain were obtained in 1955, as well as "an exceptional corn harvest." In animal husbandry, particularly hog breeding, there was a "remarkable success."

Since 1950, according to Constantinescu, the supply of various agricultural products has risen by the following percentages: bread, 65; meat, 32; meat products, 168; sugar, 42; edible oil, 130; butter, 181; cheese, 100; milk, 154; fresh fish, 189; rice, 122; cotton fabrics, 53; wool fabrics, 44.*

He went on to describe overall changes brought about

* Different reports claim different results. For example, an English-language broadcast of December 2 stated that Romania consumes "50 percent more meat" and "1.8 times more cheese" than in 1950.

by the regime in the country's economy and social structure. The "Socialist sector" in agriculture now comprises a quarter of the country's arable land. The "working class" has grown from almost one million men in 1948 to almost two million in 1955, and the urban population from 3.5 million to more than 5 million. The volume of goods sold through "Socialist trade" is now about 80 percent of the total. Labor productivity (which was originally to increase by 57 percent) grew by "more than 40 percent." This increase is not enough, Constantinescu said, in view of the technical advances made and the present level of knowledge and experience. In general, Romanian industrial technique has not caught up to the level of world technique, and "liquidation of this lag will be a principal task during the Second Five Year Plan."

Price Cuts

A second 1955 price reduction, announced by Radio Bucharest, December 3, lowered the retail cost of some consumer goods by 5-25 percent. The new decree stated that, effective December 5, 1955, the following percentage price reductions would take place: men's woolen clothing, 5-24; women's woolen clothing, 5-20; furniture, 10; hats, 12; Romanian-made bicycles, 20; Romanian-made sewing machines, 19; record players, 25; wristwatches, 10; cameras, 10; fine porcelain and majolica, 10; imitation leather purses and bags, 15; aminoplastic household items, 15; bakelite household items, 15; varnishes and paints, 10; wooden and textile toys, 10; lignite bricks, 25; lamp oil, 14; laundry soap, 15; and hand soap, 16.6.

Effective January 1, 1956, there was to be an average 10 percent reduction on medical textbooks, scientific and political books. It was also announced that in December the Ministry of Culture was to organize a book month, when the price of books would be cut 15 percent.

The first price reduction, decreed on April 25, cut the cost of foodstuffs from 10-25 percent and some consumer goods from 5-30 percent; the latest reduction, probably timed to produce an impression of regime generosity before the December 23 Party Congress, was bound to be welcomed by the people, particularly in view of the exceptionally high clothing prices. According to Yugoslav journalists who toured Romania (see NBIC, November 1955, p. 53) the prices of men's worsted suits prior to the reduction ranged from 600 to 900 *lei*, and overcoats averaged 900-950 *lei*; on the other hand, the average monthly salary for a worker in the garment industry was about 500 *lei*, for a typesetter 560 *lei*, and for technicians from 495 to 1,200 *lei*. A Swedish journalist who recently visited Romania reported that a youngster's bicycle cost 865 *lei*, a woman's dressing gown 500 *lei*, a man's cotton sweater 300 *lei*, and a man's leather jacket about 1,900 *lei*—prices obviously far beyond the reach of the average citizen.

Joint Company Dissolved

According to Radio Bucharest, December 15, the USSR and Romania have signed an agreement transferring to Romania the Soviet shares in *Sourompetrol*, the joint Sov-

iet-Romanian oil company set up in 1945. The agreement allegedly provides for Romanian acquisition of Soviet stocks "at advantageous terms with payments to be made over a period of years." Similar agreements by which the Soviet Union assured itself a continued source of income, were signed in September 1954, transferring the stock of 12 other joint companies. Only one joint company still exists—the *Sovromquartz* for uranium mining.

Military Service Cut

A government decision to curtail compulsory military service was announced in *Scinteia* (Bucharest), November 22, to be effective from December 1, 1955 to November 1, 1956. With the exception of members of the air force, anti-aircraft units and frontier troops, military service will be reduced from three years to two for members of the armed forces, troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and construction units. Those serving in the air force, anti-aircraft, and frontier units will remain under a three-year term. Naval personnel will serve three years instead of the previous four. It is highly probable that one of the main purposes of this decision, as well as the earlier regime announcement covering the demobilization of 40,000 men, is to release men for work in industry and agriculture.

Poland

The Thaw

Recent criticism of the regime press by its readers aired another aspect of the present thaw in Polish national life. *Zycie Warszawy* (Warsaw), November 14, 1955, printed answers it had received to the question "What is your opinion of your newspaper?" The replies were particularly interesting with regard to foreign news items. A certain G. F. from Poznan demanded that articles on international affairs be more objective and complained about lack of factual information on life in Western Europe and America: "To ridicule the American way of life or the senseless declarations of some senators is neither objective nor factual nor complete information. Every reader knows that American life has various sides, that it presents various problems, that various inventions have been made there, that there is an artistic and literary life."

The same G. F. also complained about stereotyped propaganda on the USSR: "Your information is [exclusively] from the PAP [Polish Press Agency]; all other newspapers do the same and give an impression of inefficiency and neglect. . . . What is lacking? Good, objective reporting on the USSR written in such a way that its contents awaken the readers' interests and [thereby] fulfill propaganda tasks; a report which does not consist merely of a few sentences expressing the highest admiration. This is what is going on in our newspapers. . . . and it is often contrary to our friendship with the USSR and psychological principles."

Another reader objected to the fact that certain information, such as the defection to the West of Skonecki, Panufnik and Swiatlo, was suppressed for a long time: "The question arises, why . . . if someone committed common impostures or engaged in hostile actions against our sys-

"Tie the Sheaves Well"



Agricultural directive demanding fight against "Class Enemy."
Urzica (Bucharest), July 15, 1955

tem and then found refuge in the 'free world,' the average citizen could get hold of that information not through *Trybuna Ludu* or *Zycie Warszawy* but [only] through the New York and London radios?" Still another reader complained: "It is a shame that Poles know so little about what is going on in the world; this is mostly the fault of our press, which forces those who are eager to get some information to listen to the 'Free Europe' broadcasts."

Another interesting aspect of the current criticism was a recent article in the youth organ *Po Prostu* (Warsaw), entitled "Let's Open the Window and Look at the Students' World." The author of the article wrote that young people are not interested in the International Students' Union because they see little possibility of going abroad: "It is difficult to suppose that in the near future it will be possible to include all students in a mass tourist excursion. Nevertheless, the number of students who go abroad has recently been increased considerably and will be increased still further; however, it will not be possible to consider that number as imposing." In view of these limitations, the author of the article suggests that it would be worthwhile to "take advantage of foreign students who frequently visit our institutions of higher learning. It is also advisable to mention that it is high time that interesting Western publications and books be made widely accessible not only to men of learning but also to students."

The demand for more information on the West was also the subject of a November 6, 1955 article in *Po Prostu* entitled "Let Us Pay More Attention to Earthly Matters." The writer criticized the lack of accurate reporting on Western economic achievements and declared that instead of uttering commonplaces on the Marxist superstructure, the regime should publish a Polish statistical yearbook and provide the reader with objective insight into economic events in the "capitalist world." Following the line recently taken by *Kommunist* (Moscow), *Trybuna Ludu* and *Nowe Drogi*, on the need to reevaluate Western economic achievements, the author declared:

"In the [postwar period] our editors accepted a sophism as their directive: in view of the fact that some of the capitalist countries are developing, it is necessary to pass in silence over their progress and write instead about our own achievements. That was the beginning of a few years of commonplaces. The results have been deplorable. Instead of truisms, we need honest information on the newest industrial methods, on the wage system, on the development of industrial establishments, on the system of placing government orders, on export and its meaning, on difficulties and achievements in American agriculture, on the tax system, i.e., on all that which is called the US economic base. . . . It is not enough to write on the 'Superstate' European Coal and Steel Community as proof that the bourgeoisie is betraying the interests of its people by giving up State sovereignty. It is also necessary to write on the fact that in capitalist Europe a common market of six states was organized for the first time and that at present a ton of steel costs as much in France as it does in Italy and Germany, that there exists a common leadership of enterprises. . . . These are facts. Who has read about them in Poland? Without learning these facts, we shall not be able to understand the unity of the bourgeois leaders of the six countries with regard to German rearmament. . . .

"What are the results of such a policy? The result is that in the course of years the people have become more and more anxious to get hold of information on what is going on in capitalist countries—by no means because of their liking for these countries. The people have been looking for information wherever possible. In view of the fact that our radio and press have not been supplying enough information, the people have started to look for it in foreign publications and radio broadcasts."

Restrictions on Peasant Fines

Recent signs that the regime was relaxing its policy against peasants who fail to fulfill their delivery quotas were confirmed in a new decree in *Dziennik Ustaw* (Warsaw), September 30, 1955. Although the decree made no major change in the 1953 decree providing penalties up to 3,000 *zlotys* and three years in prison for offending peasants, it stipulated that in certain cases penalties could be postponed. Delay would apply to widows with children under fourteen, to peasants who are the only workers on their holdings, and to farmers who are over 65, ill or chronic invalids. The decree stated further that fines could be rescinded if the accused met his quotas in full.

Prior to publication of the decree, the Rzeszow daily *Nowiny Rzeszowskie*, September 9, 1955, cited numerous cases of unjust fines and penalties. The newspaper stated

that one peasant had been fined 3,000 *zlotys* for failing to fulfill his obligatory deliveries after he left the kolkhoz: "Mazurek proved he had no land or property. When he left the kolkhoz, he did not accept any land, because they would not return his own land and wanted to give him some inferior land. In spite of this, he was fined." The newspaper also complained that, although some peasants met their quotas after they had been sentenced, they were arrested for failing to pay their fines.

Polish-Yugoslav Trade Agreement

A 1956 trade agreement providing for an exchange of goods amounting to \$14 million on each side was signed by Poland and Yugoslavia, according to *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), November 15. According to the agreement, which will increase Polish-Yugoslav trade 100 percent over 1955, Poland will export coal, coke, rolled steel, machines, sugar and chemical products; in return Yugoslavia will ship lead, zinc, pyrites, dyes, flax, corn, tobacco and machines. Agreements on air communications, technical cooperation, tourist trade, and on regulating settlement of debts for the period 1945-1955 were also signed.

Commenting on the event, *Trybuna Ludu*, November 16, declared that it was only the beginning of broad contacts which will take place between the two countries in the future and that both Yugoslavia and Poland had a common view on basic problems of international relations: "Both countries are against the creation of military blocs . . . recognize the necessity of solving the German problem within the problem of European security . . . [and are] for outlawing weapons of mass extermination . . . and for granting People's China a seat in the UN."

Youth

At a four-day plenum of the Executive Committee of the Polish Youth Union [ZMP] which ended December 2, its unsatisfactory work in rural areas was severely criticized and a resolution was drafted to overcome shortcomings. The meeting followed a November 8 discussion in *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw) dealing with Party weaknesses in the countryside. The newspaper revealed that in 43 percent of the villages there was no ZMP organization and that only 20 percent of young people in rural areas are ZMP members. "There are more than 100,000 young people in the collectives; of this number only 38,000 are ZMP members." Analyzing present difficulties, *Trybuna Ludu* stated that one reason for the slow growth of ZMP organizations was the poor work of local branches which relied on "campaigns and conferences with instructors sent from above." The newspaper also discussed the exodus of young people, including ZMP members, from the countryside:

"The problem is not simple. Industrialization took first place in the life of the nation. The working class absorbed masses of peasant youth. It was a correct and purposeful process. However, while stressing . . . the importance of industrialization, we frequently failed to talk enough about the importance of agriculture . . . and the interdependence of [agriculture and industry]. . . . The flight to town is often a flight from personal conflicts which arise in the



President of the Regional Executive Committee: "I remember perfectly well that we made some decision on dam repairs. . . ."

Krokodil (Moscow), March 10, 1955

countryside against a background of differences in [political and moral] outlook . . . in the peasant family and general environment. In such cases, two courses are possible: either defense of one's correct view . . . and that means a struggle to convince other people of the justness of such a view—or flight from the village. Alas, very often . . . the young people have chosen the latter course."

While stressing the role of youth in rural areas the regime has also begun drafting ZMP youth to the mines. The October 15 and November 1 issues of *Gornik*, organ of the miners' union, declared that the recruitment campaign had been started by the Provincial Executive ZMP Committee in Stalinogrod, and that the first teams of young recruits were already at work. According to *Trybuna Ludu*, November 20, 2,000 workers had responded to the appeal up to that date. To further the success of the drive (which is connected with the ambitious coal production target of 150,000,000 tons set for the coming Five

Year Plan), the government recently issued a resolution on improving conditions for young miners. *Trybuna Ludu*, November 12, stated that the young recruits would receive special assistance during the initial period of their work. Pit workers will receive free clothing and one month's free lodging and food in worker-hotels. In addition, for "faultless" work over a six month period, a premium of 400 *zlotys* will be granted; at the end of a year a second premium of 800 *zlotys* will be awarded for exemplary work. The total value of 1955 benefits was estimated at 570,000 *zlotys*, and in 1956 an estimated 28 million *zlotys* will be earmarked for this purpose.

Anti-Alcoholism Drive Intensified

Following the example of the Warsaw National Council, the Councils in the provinces of Lublin, Olsztyn, Cracow, Wroclaw and Rzeszow passed resolutions limiting the

number of establishments permitted to sell alcohol and restricting the hours during which alcohol can be purchased. Plans to liquidate drunkenness and severely punish "excesses and crimes committed under the influence of drink" were drafted at a recent anti-alcohol conference under the chairmanship of Premier Cyrankiewicz, according to Radio Warsaw, November 11. *Zycie Warszawy* (Warsaw), November 12, 1955, remarked that the retail distribution network for sale of alcohol may be further curtailed in the near future, and that regulations on alcohol consumption would be strictly enforced and tightened:

"The fact that alcoholic drinks are prohibited on Saturdays and that they can be bought freely on Sundays cannot lead to overcoming the tradition—a very expensive one—of blue Monday. . . . In addition, typical paydays [during which sale of alcohol is prohibited] were defined as the first and fifteenth of each month, although it is known that many workers get paid on the seventeenth and twenty-first of each month, and many others are paid every ten days. This incompleteness of the [present] resolution is the source of derision among drunkards and of bitterness among peaceful citizens who had expected that the resolution would change things for the better."

Bulgaria

Collectivization

A November 26, Radio Sofia broadcast disclosed that in the first ten months of 1955, 25,000 new farmer households had joined collective farms and that, through establishment of 47 new kolkhozes, the collectivized area had been increased by 90,000 hectares. The commentator pointed out, however, that almost half the nation's peasantry still remained outside the collectivized sector and that great care had to be taken with the work of new kolkhozes so that they would attract the individual peasant.

As of December 1953, there were 2,474 collectives in Bulgaria covering 2,548,182 hectares of arable land (about 51.7 percent of the total). These contained 568,989 household units, or 53 percent of all household units. At the end of 1954, the number of collectives totalled 2,723, apparently as a result of collective mergers. In comparison with the years 1953 and 1954, the 1955 increase of 47 collectives is significant, although the present drive is in no way comparable to the one of 1947-51. In 1948, for example, the number of collectives increased from 549 to 1,100; in 1950, from 1,608 to 2,587. The current, relatively mild collectivization campaign seems to be based chiefly on persuasion. Economic incentives have been granted collective farmers and attempts have been made to transform the kolkhozes into model farms by increasing their production and by preventing managerial violations of kolkhoz "legality."

Students Jailed

With many college graduates apparently refusing to accept assigned posts in the State service outside Sofia, the

regime took drastic action, and, on November 17, *Trud* (Sofia) reported the sentencing of a group of student offenders. Pointing out that refusal to accept assigned posts was punishable under the law by as much as three years in prison or at corrective labor, the newspaper declared:

"Who are these young people? Liuben Hristov [had studied] Bulgarian language and literature . . . is well qualified and interested in serious research work. But he chose [to remain] in the capital city instead of teaching in Ispirich [a small town in Dobrudja]. The other defendants, Margarita Ivanova, Maria Georgieva, and Elena Todorova were also excellent students. But all of them preferred to show lack of gratitude towards the State [for financing their education] rather than serve where the State needed them most."

Three of the students were sentenced to prison for terms ranging from eight months to a year. Elena Todorova was sentenced to six months of "corrective labor."

The above case, which is the first of its kind ever to be published in the regime press, was undoubtedly meant to serve as a warning to other young people who resent being uprooted and refuse to "volunteer" for work in small towns. "This sentence is a lesson," *Trud* intoned, "to all those . . . who place their personal interests above those of society."

Dissolution of Joint Company

Following the 1954 dissolution of three Bulgarian-Soviet joint companies—*Tabso* for civil aviation, *Korbso* for shipyards and *Sovbolstoi* for construction of industrial plants—the USSR recently agreed on the dissolution of the Soviet-Bulgarian mining company *Gorubso*. According to Radio Sofia, December 1, an agreement was signed in Sofia on November 26, which provided for the transfer of Soviet shares to Bulgaria. "The agreement stipulates that the Soviet shares . . . be acquired by Bulgaria under favorable conditions by means of payments spread over several years." According to reliable information, one joint company still remains in existence—a mining company for exploitation of uranium deposits. *Gorubso* was concerned with the exploitation of oil, lead, zinc and silver deposits.

Albania

Military Service Reduced

Following a September 3 announcement that the Albanian Armed Forces would be reduced by 9,000 by the end of 1955, Radio Tirana, November 16, reported that the terms of military service would be reduced. In the future, service in the infantry, artillery, communications corps, engineering corps, chemical warfare corps and rear echelons will be reduced to two years; for other specialized corps, service will be three years. Although the previous terms of service were not made public, it is likely, on the basis of similar information from Bulgaria and Romania, that the reduction averages about one year.

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The Ragged Edge, by Marquis Childs (Doubleday: \$3.50). Subtitled "The Diary of a Crisis," this journalistic account of the eventful period February-August 1954 gives the author's first-hand experience and view of the end of the Berlin Conference, the death of EDC, the Geneva (Indochina) Conference, and the impact of the Army-McCarthy hearings on European opinion. Its chief weight lies in the evocation of the political temper in Germany, Italy and France at this particular moment in history.

The Soviet Film Industry, by Paul Babitsky and John Rimberg (Praeger: \$5.50). The collaborative effort of a former Soviet citizen who wrote for and worked in the Soviet film industry and an American student of Soviet affairs. The book describes in detail the administrative and economic organization of the film industry, and contains two chapters on film technique and content: a chapter on writers and scenarios, the other an exhaustive analysis of heroes and villains in Soviet films from 1923 to 1950. Appendices of decrees and directives, and indices.

Continuity and Change in Russian and Soviet Thought, edited and with an introduction by Ernest J. Simmons (Harvard: \$7.50). Can a revolution dedicated to the establishment of a totally new political, social and economic system divert the natural direction of a country's history, uproot its indigenous

customs and habits, and change the character traits of its citizens? Thirty internationally-known authorities—among them Merle Fainsod, Isaiah Berlin, Frederick C. Barghoorn, Hans Kohn—analyze the relations of the new Russia to the old in terms of pre- and post-revolution lines of thought on such subjects as economic development, man's relation to society, the role of literature, nationalist Messianism. This book, a major contribution to Russian intellectual history, is the product of a Conference held at Arden House in March 1954 under the auspices of the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.

The Russian Marxists and the Origins of Bolshevism, by Leopold H. Haimson (Harvard: \$5.50). A historical and psychological study of the 19th century Russian intelligentsia as a social force, and of the individuals in it who laid the foundations of Social Democracy in Russia: Akselrod, Plekhanov, Martov and Lenin; it traces personality and ideological differences which, in the Bolshevik-Menshevik schism, shattered for good the solidarity of the traditional revolutionary elements in Russia. Bibliography and index.

Following is a list of 1955 publications sponsored by the Mid-European Studies Center of the Free Europe Committee, Inc., 4 West 57th Street, New York, N. Y.: **Yugoslav Metallurgical Industry**, by Ivan Avsenek. . . . **Forced Labor in the Satellite Countries** as of January 7, 1955 (a supplement to **Forced Labor and Confinement Without Trial**), by Vladimir Gsovski. . . . **The Romanian Oil Industry**, by Constantin Jordan (*N. Y. University Press*). . . . "Bosnia," "Bucharest," "Bucovina," "Dalmatia," by Branko M. Peselj, in *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1955 edition (*Americana Corporation*). . . . **Institutional Changes in the Postwar Economy of Poland**, by Wladislaw Stankiewicz and J. M. Montias. . . . **Discrimination in Education in the People's Democracies** of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania, by Neal Buhler and Stanley Zukowski. . . . **Church and State in**

Satellite Europe, by Vladimir Gsovski (*Praeger*). . . . **The Romanian Methane Gas Industry**, by Constantin Jordan.

Following is a list of research reports published in 1955 by the Free Europe Press of the Free Europe Committee, Inc., 110 West 57th Street, New York, N. Y., and available upon request: **Cancellation of Delivery Arrears in Czechoslovakia**. . . . **First Stage of Post-Stalinism**. . . . **Stagnation of Hungarian Heavy Industry**. . . . **New Policy for Hungarian Agriculture**. . . . **New General Line in the Soviet Sphere**. . . . **Evidence of Party Disagreement on Hungarian Agricultural Policy**. . . . **Progress of Collectivization in Eastern Europe**. . . . **Recent Economic Developments in Bulgarian Agriculture**. . . . **The Household Plot: a study of Private Farming Within Collective Farms**. . . . **Relationship Between Labor Productivity and Wages in the Satellites: Part I—Czechoslovakia; Part II—Poland; Part III—Hungary**. . . . **2nd Analytic Survey of Major Trends in the Soviet Sphere, July 1954-July 1955**. . . . **Yugoslav Relations with the West**. . . . **Party and Government Leaders in the Soviet Bloc (as of October 31, 1955)**.

Red Plush and Black Bread, by Marguerite Higgins (Doubleday: \$4.00). New York *Herald Tribune* reporter Higgins was the first American correspondent to get a visa to Russia after restrictions against visitors were relaxed, and was, therefore, the first roving reporter to enter Russia since the Stalin era. Her trip behind the Iron Curtain lasted ten weeks and covered more than 13,500 miles through Siberia, Soviet Central Asia, the Caucasus, White Russia, and the Ukraine. Her account of life today in the Soviet Union touches on many aspects of human interest. The emphasis is on the Soviet people's attitude toward such matters as clothes, television, marriage and morals, and the meaning of peaceful coexistence (which, according to a factory manager, ". . . means that we could import all the machine tools we want from places like England and America.") Miss Higgins has brought objectivity and a knowledge of psychology to interpret what she saw, did and heard, and to make reasonable, simple deductions.



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